The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Arts and Architecture

REGINA CHRISTINA, ANTIQUARIO:

QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN'S DEVELOPMENT OF A CLASSICAL PERSONA THROUGH ALLEGORY AND ANTIQUARIAN COLLECTING

A Dissertation in
Art History
by
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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

December 2018

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Abstract

By examining how Queen Christina of Sweden collected, what she collected, and where she displayed objects, we can better understand her motives for amassing what became the Early Modern period's largest collection of antiquities owned by a woman. This dissertation argues that personal and political reasons motivated her to develop what could be considered a borderless, genderless, classical persona, that is represented in her display of antique objects. When her collecting habits are assessed alongside her sponsorship of classical scholarship, it becomes clear that Christina's development of antiquities collections was inextricably tied to the large body of allegorical imagery associated with the queen. I claim that she sought a hybrid historical identity as both Swedish and European, and that the necessity to maintain political authority in both political contexts gave shape to the queen's self-fashioning through the antique. Through an examination of her scholastic connections, artistic patronage, and adoption of antique guises, this analysis coalesces seemingly disparate aspects of Christina's visual, rhetorical, and political agendas, reframing them as parts of a lifelong campaign to figure and redefine her Gothic identity.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank several individuals and institutions for their indispensable help in bringing this project to fruition. The staff of the Library at the National Museum in Washington D.C.; the staff of the Corsini Palace for their assistance with photo permission and access to non-public areas of the palace; the Doria Pamphilj Family Archive; the Archivio di Stato di Roma; the staff of the Svenska Institutet, Bibliotheka Hertziana, and American Academy in Rome for all of their help in locating the materials I needed. A huge amount of gratitude is due to Therese Sjøvoll and her husband Bern for their hospitality and for her friendship coupled with advice on all things Christina. In Stockholm, I would like to thank Jonas Rosin, Supervisor of the Riddarholmen Church at the Swedish Royal Court for his assistance in accessing objects owned by Christina that are still located in the Royal Palace; Linda Hinners, Curator of Sculpture at the Nationalmuseum for helping me locate objects not currently on display amidst the extensive renovations of the museum's facilities; Johanna Bäckström at Drottningholm Palace for her guidance and for facilitating access to the de Vries Sculpture collection; the staff at the Nationalmuseum Photo Archive and Library; Professor AnnMarie Leander Touati at Lund University for advising my Fulbright research; Professor Stefano Fogelberg Rota at Uppsala University for introducing me to the Christina Academy; Dr. Fred Hocker, Director of Research at the Vasa Museum for sharing his knowledge and allowing me access to information on their upcoming exhibition and the interior of the ship; Lena Ånimmer, the staff at the Riksarkivet, and the staff of the Swedish National Military Archive who patiently helped me access material through the renovation of the Marieberg archives; Camila Kandare and the Christina Akademien for their generous guidance and work in promoting Christina scholarship; and Janis Kreslins at the National Library of Sweden for his guidance and enthusiasm for Early Modern topics.

My research in Stockholm was made possible by grants from the Lois Roth Foundation, the Susan W. and Thomas A. Schwartz Endowed Fellowship for Dissertation Research, the extended family of Bo and AnnCharlotte Lindgren, the Lundbourg family, and the Swedish Fulbright Program. I am additionally thankful for the warm welcome and invitations proffered from the office of the American Ambassador to Sweden. I am grateful for the help of the Institute for International Education, and specifically to Eric Jönsson and the staff at the Swedish Fulbright office for all of their hard work and continued support. I am additionally grateful to Bernardo García and Krista De Jonge along with the Palatium Network including the Fundación Carlos Amberes, European Science Foundation, Patrimonial Nacional, and the Casa Velazquez for their contributions and assistance. At Penn State I must thank Francis E. Hyslop, the Office of Global Programs, the University fellowships Office, College of Arts and Architecture, Department of Art History, Institute for the Arts and Humanities, and Committee for Early Modern Studies for their generous support of my work.

My love and appreciation for the support given by my parents, John and Barbara, my sister Victoria, and my husband Owen is too great for words. Writing these pages would have been a much more arduous task if not for friends and colleagues Mary Curran, Katherine Staab, Kimberly Musial Datchuk, Cali Buckley, Brynne McBryde, Heather Hoge, Joanna Bridge, SaraLouise Smith Howells, and Laura Freitas Almeida. They inspired, encouraged, and spent endless hours at cafes with me seeing this project through. I also thank my teachers and role models, Connie McDonald, Sue Yabuki, Ily Nagy, and Linda Williams who helped me love learning. Their presence as positive forces in my early academic life have made my goals possible. I would also like to express my enormous gratitude to Robin Thomas for his skillful guidance, encouragement, and mentorship throughout my graduate career. Additionally, I am grateful for the generosity of time, flexibility, and constructive feedback provided by my doctoral committee, Andy Schulz, Elizabeth Smith, and Sherry Roush.

This dissertation is dedicated to the
memory of Professor Brian Curran.

Introduction

Aim of Research

Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) was the daughter of the great Gustav Adolf (1594–1632), champion of Protestantism in the Thirty Years War. Her conversion to Catholicism in 1654 was a major coup for the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church and was considered a personal victory for Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1599–1667). This was evidenced by the spectacular ceremony that heralded the queen's entry into the eternal city. Her continued importance as a tool of propaganda for the church was again highlighted in her death with her posthumous internment in the Vatican grottos, a rare honor for both a woman and a secular ruler. Viewing Christina's changing political aims and social obligations as they were reflected in her taste for Roman classicism, her antiquarian interests, and her use of allegorical imagery, this dissertation explores Christina as a collector of antiquities, both before and after her abdication.

I began the process of writing the dissertation with the goal of contextualizing Christina's Roman antiquities within a history of collecting in Baroque Rome. What I discovered when attempting to write such a history was a startling lack of published information on exactly what was in Christina's collections and how she purchased objects. Beyond identifying what Christina owned, it was necessary to establish where her objects were displayed, how she managed acquisitions, and why she developed an interest in antiquarian collecting in the first place. A well-rounded antiquities collection in the Early Modern period would have held not only antique marbles and bronzes but also a library of classical authors, architectural fragments, inscriptions, copies of well-known ancient sculptures, and cabinets of coins, medals, cameos, and gems. My analysis is the first to take all of these inter-related objects into account.

In dissecting the means, methods, and meaning behind her acquisitions, I uncovered a vast body of classical imagery associated with the queen. Further exploration of allegorical conceits used to promote and flatter her proved complementary to themes expressed through Christina's antiquities collections. Coupled with her interest in classical scholarship, these allegories of knowledge and power seen in easily disseminated media and in her displays of antique objects, illuminate the development of a royal image based on the antique. In gaining a better understanding of what she collected I found that it was not simply the unique aspect of a female collecting ancient marbles and coins that set Christina apart from other collectors. It was equally the development of her classical image that helped the queen to define and manage disparate and competing aspects of her experiences in both Sweden and Rome. With so much work still to be done on Christina's antiquities collections and their contexts, the majority of published scholarship on the topic focuses on only one aspect of her life as a collector, one type of object, or one room in the palace. To begin to complete a picture of what she owned, when she acquired it, and how she displayed it, one must read hundreds of sources both published and unpublished.

In providing a more comprehensive picture of Christina as a collector, I seek to clarify and challenge longstanding popular conceptions of the queen as rebellious, undisciplined, and barbaric by reconstructing her formation of the calculated royal image she attempted to project to the public. The following discussion of the objects she purchased and the way that they were displayed serves to expand our knowledge of Christina's relationship with her art agents as well as their involvement in the international antiquities market. By broadening our knowledge of antiquarian and collecting culture in the North and in Rome during the seventeenth century, my research contributes valuable new information to the study of the history of collections and highlights the active roles taken by Early Modern women in shaping their own public images.

Summary of the Text

The primary focus of this study is to illuminate the formation and transformation of Christina's public persona; that is her deliberately constructed social and political façade. The topics addressed – Christina's collections in Sweden, her collections in Rome, and her self-fashioning through allegory and the antique – fall neatly into three equally important categories, each of which can function independently. I have divided the dissertation into three parts according to these topics, each with two chapters. Part one looks at how and why Christina began Sweden's first major collection of antiquities, her relationships with her art agents, and her decision to move to Rome. Part two outlines how Christina's display fit within the spectrum of well-established Roman collections and what a visitor to the queen's Roman palace would have experienced. Part three establishes Christina's use of allegorical imagery as a way to demonstrate power and appeal to a pan-European audience.

In part one, I describe the formation of Christina's Swedish collections and consider the objects she brought with her to Rome. The choices she made in personal acquisitions, purchases through her agents, and the capture of objects from across Europe, including Rudolph II's famous *kunstkammer* in Prague, are the focus of a discussion on the development of Christina's Swedish collections. I address some recurrent speculations relating to how and why she selected the objects that accompanied her to Rome and argue for a reading of her early collections as a foundation for an extensive program of self-fashioning discussed in part three.

In the second part, I provide an analysis of antiquarian collecting and display in mid-seventeenth-century Rome, providing a snapshot of Roman visual culture and the antiquities market from the period of the queen's residency in the city. I present a brief catalog of all of the notable antiquities collections in Rome through an analysis based on Giovanni Pietro *Bellori's Nota delli musei* of 1664.[1] I then turn to Christina's Roman collection of antique objects, piecing together their original layout and function within the palace. Working with available scholarship on the collection as well as palace inventories, I reconstruct the installation of sculpture within the Palazzo Riario after Christina took up residence on the Lungara in July of 1659. My discussion focuses on the ways in which the objects displayed in the most public areas of her residence formed a cohesive public image crafted by the queen. Parts one and two are based largely on my analysis of unpublished material in the archives of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and a set of inventories now located in Stockholm, Prague, Paris, Madrid, and Rome. These materials allow us to track the development of Christina's collection throughout her life.

Part three explores the development of Queen Christina's taste for Roman classicism, her antiquarian interests, and her use of allegorical imagery in relation to her changing pre- and post-abdication political aims and social obligations. This goal is accomplished, in part, through an examination of biblically and mythologically based historical narratives produced in Sweden by authors such as the Magnus brothers and Olof Rudbeck. Their approach to Swedish historicism was developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it proposed a version of Swedish history that situated the Nordic people within the Graeco-Roman tradition. Among other suggestions, their texts posited that the ancient Hyperboreans, a people who, according to Ovid and other classical authors, lived with Apollo near the north wind, were one and the same with the ancient peoples that inhabited Sweden, ancestors of the great Gothic Kings of the North. I argue for both personal and political motivations associated with Christina's self-fashioning through allegory within the context of the Swedish Hyperborean research tradition.[2] I additionally compare the construction of Christina's royal image to Elizabeth I and other Early Modern female kings, particularly focusing on Christina's associations with the figures of Constantine, Alexander the Great, Minerva, and Hercules.[3] By identifying these primary foils most commonly associated with Christina in reproductive media such as coins and prints, I identify similar themes in her personal displays, lending additional depth and substance to my analysis of her antiquities collections and, conversely, producing more personalized narratives for portraiture produced in the queen's honor. Most broadly, my discussion centers on Christina's use of allegorical portraiture as a socially acceptable method for women to assume typically male traits such as militarism without upsetting seventeenth-century gender roles.

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[1] Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Nota delli musei, librerie, galerie et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case e ne' giardini di Roma* (Rome: 1665).

In addition to an examination of Christina's scholastic connections, artistic patronage, and adoption of various antique guises, my analysis coalesces superficially incongruent aspects of her collecting habits, patronage, and portraiture into a complete image of the queen's antique identity. My goal is not necessarily to argue a position on Christina's personal philosophical beliefs, nor do I make any claims in regard to Christina's sexuality. My aim is to focus on the exploration of Christina's title, gender, and court production only as these aspects of her life pertain to the fabrication of her public image.[4] I do not rehash longstanding debates on her personal relationships, reasons for abdication, or the queen's dedication to the Catholic faith, but rather to suggest an alternate lens through which some of the mythology surrounding Christina can be reassessed.[5] In addition to my comprehensive review of her antiquarian collecting activities prior to her abdication in part one, my reconstruction of the antiquities collections Christina amassed while living in the Palazzo Riario and the relationship of that collection to Christina's program of self-fashioning through allegory are the foundations of my original contributions to scholarship on the queen.

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[2] This term is used to define a wide swath of literature, almost exclusively produced in Sweden. For the coining of this term and a more fully-fledged description of its meaning see: Tero Antilla, *Power of Antiquity: The Hyperborean Research Tradition in Early Modern Swedish Research on National Antiquity* (PhD diss., University of Oulu, 2014).

[3] Christina's official Swedish title was King of Sweden as the ruler who was sole head of the monarchy was referred to as King regardless of gender. This was the case with multiple female rulers in the Early Modern period. For more on this topic see: William Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe 1300-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

State of Research

While there are several publications that focus on Christina's purchase and display of Renaissance and Baroque paintings and drawings, there is currently no text which outlines and contextualizes the queen's interest in collecting antiquities. Additionally, there is little comprehensive literature on classical collecting and antiquarianism between 1655, the death of

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[4] I will only discuss these inclinations and personal beliefs in so far as they can be argued as direct influences on her collecting, visual identity, and allegorical presence. I make a distinction here between "objective" truths and speculation although, as with many other aspects of her life, even some of the most basic elements of Christina's biography have been called into question by twentieth-century scholars. There has been a considerable amount of discussion regarding Christina's gender and sexuality, largely stemming from her firm and unwavering lifelong aversion to intimate relations and childbearing. This has led some to consider the possibility that she was a hermaphrodite or had a genital deformity that made a celibate lifestyle obligatory. A study of her pelvic bone during the exhumation of her remains in 1965 was inconclusive but showed no positive indication of intersexuality. For the purposes of the present study, no matter her physical condition, within the context of Baroque social structures and legal matters she was considered female and therefore I will treat her as such. Carl-Herman Hjortsjö, *Queen Christina of Sweden. A Medical/Anthropological Investigation of Her Remains in Rome* (Lund: Gleerup, 1966).

[5] Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 7.

Pope Innocent X Pamphilj, and the mid-eighteenth-century purchases of antiquities fueled by the neoclassical interests of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and the Grand Tour. It is, in part, this neglected period in the history of antiquarian collecting which my research addresses. The era in which Christina was collecting is a dynamic and understudied transitional time in the history of objects and how viewers interacted with them. In this period patrons and scholars experimented with thematic displays, as exemplified by Christina's objects in the Palazzo Riario, that remade collections into places of learning and connoisseurship. The product of this shift in the educational and historical contextualization of museum objects can still be seen in public collections today.

I have based the information presented in this dissertation on an examination of extant objects along with primary source material such as Christina's autobiography, palace inventories, personal letters, travel diaries, and documents located in the Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden), Kungliga biblioteket (Swedish Royal Library/National Library), Nationalmuseum Myndighetsarkivet (the Swedish National Museum Institutional Archives), Svenska Institutet i Rom (Swedish Institute in Rome), Archivio di Stato di Roma (State Archives in Rome), Archivio Segreto Vaticano (Vatican Archives), and Museo del Prado (Prado Museum). Christina requested that after her death her papers be destroyed by her heir, Cardinal Decio Azzolino. Fortunately for modern scholarship, but unfortunately for him, the Cardinal died within months of the queen, leaving her collection and all of her personal papers largely intact. Over the next forty years, her estate was dispersed, with paintings and drawings sold throughout Europe. The majority of her antique sculpture purchased by the Spanish Crown.

While there are multiple inventories through which we can track the development of Christina's acquisitions and antiquarian collections, several extant inventories remain unpublished in their entirety. Much of my work reconstructing Christina's collecting in parts one and two is based on analysis of the following extant inventories:

- **Inventory of the Treasury at Gripsholm**: An inventory from 1548 outlining the early Swedish royal collections. Some of the objects listed were inherited by Christina almost a century later. Stockholm, Slottsarkivet. Inventory reproduced in *Nya Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*.[6]

- **Prague Inventory**: A December 6th, 1621 inventory of objects from the former collection of Rudolph II and booty acquired after Imperial victories in Bohemia. Taken in Prague before the dispersal of the collections by armies including Christina's forces. Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv, Wien. Published in part by Zimmermann, 1905.[7]

- **Königsmarck Inventory**: 1648 inventory taken under the Count Hans Christoff von Königsmarck after the sack of Prague and the acquisition of objects from the Royal Treasury and other notable collections. Published in part in 1902 by Granberg as the "Skokloster Inventory."[8]

- **Isaac Vossius' Book/Manuscript Inventories, 1649 and ca. 1653**: Inventory of books in Christina's collection made after the arrival of Prague booty- the first is unfinished, the second includes only those works that were sent to Antwerp, most of which would end up in Christina's Roman library. Stockholm Kungliga biblioteket, U. 202:1-2; Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. Vat.lat.8171.

- **Swedish Royal Tapestry Inventory**: 1649-50 inventory typically referred to as the "*Inventarier över vävda tapeter 1649-1650.*" Riksarkivet, Stockholm K23.

- **Du Fresne Inventory**: 1652 inventory taken by Christina's curator and deputy librarian, Marquis Raphaël Trichet du Fresne before her departure from Sweden. The compilation of the inventory was started between 1650 and 1652 and was originally created by Polycarpus Crumbugel, who is later called Cronhiem. A French copy "*Inventaire des raretez qui sont*

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[6] "Inventarier *ö*fver Gripsholms slotts fatebur I sexonde århundradet," in *Nya Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia* 37 (Stockholm: Horbergska Boktryckeriet, 1856), 1-70.

[7] *Heinrich Zimmermann,* "*das inventar der Prager Schatz-und Kunstkammer von 6. dezember 1621 nach Akten des K. und K. reichsfinanzarchiv in Wien*," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 25, (1905), XII-LXXV.

[8] Olof Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri på Stockholms slott och i Rom*, *dess uppkomst* och *dess öden ända till våra dagar*: *en historisk-konstkritisk undersökning* (Stockholm: I. Haeggström, 1896), 63-84.

dans le cabinet des antiquités de la serénissimt reine de Suède," was created for Raphael Trichet du Fresne who would have had a hard time reading Polycarpus' original version. Copies still exist in Swedish and in French and it is the French version that is referred to throughout the following text as the "Du Fresne Inventory" or the "Inventory of 1652." Published in part by Granberg, 1896. Reproductions available at Nationalmuseum Myndighetsarkivet, Drottning Christina 1966 exhibition records as well as on microfilm at the National Gallery in Washington.[9]

- **Antwerp Inventory**: A 1656 account of the queen's collections taken after her objects were sent ahead to Antwerp. Most of the objects listed on the "*Inventaire des meubles et hardes appertenants à Sa Majestè la Sèrènisime Royne de Suède, destines pour envoyer à Rome, reposants en ceste ville d'Anvers,"* would eventually end up in Rome. Some items in this general inventory never made it back to the queen and were pawned in the Netherlands for funds to cover expenses. Antwerp State Archives, No. 2479, fol. 270-89.

- **Rome Inventory from after 1662**: An inventory circa 1662. Also referred to as the "Azzolino Inventory." It was taken at the Palazzo Riario after the queen was settled there but while the casino was likely still occupied. The dating is somewhat uncertain but is generally agreed to be after 1662, completed no later than 1667.

- **Rome Inventory from before 1689**: A room-by-room inventory with no firm dating, concerning antique objects in the collection at the Palazzo Riaro as they were displayed prior to the queen's death. This is among the most detailed and useful of inventories with regards to the appearance of individual objects including descriptions of installation, architectural fragments and small sculptures. Archives Nationales, Paris, 0-2 1073. Published by Boyer as "Les Antiques de Christine de Suède à Rome" in *Revue Archéologique*, 5me série, t.XXXV, Paris 1932.

- **Rome Painting Inventory from circa 1689**: A list made after the queen's death with decriptions of her paintings. Archivio Palatino, Rome. Published in part by Granberg as "*Inventarium öfver drottning kristinas tafvelgalleri i rom troligen upprättad strax efter hennes dod.*"[10]

- **Odescalchi Inventory**: A 1713/14 inventory usually called the "*Inventario delle Statoue Colonne &c Possedute dall' Altezza & Serenissima del Signor D. Livio Odescalco.*" This document notes the objects purchased from Christina's heirs by the Odescalchi and is one of the most complete accounts of her collection. Published by Walker, 1994. Reproduction at the Nationalmuseum Myndighetsarkivet, Drottning Christina 1966 exhibition records, box "Odescalchi I."[11]

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[9] Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri, 85-112.*

[10] Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri, 113-151.*

- **Spanish Inventory of 1747**: An inventory taken after the death of Felipe V that lists, in general terms, the objects purchased from the Odescalchi for the decoration of the royal palace at la Granja. *Often called the "Inventory* of Elizabeth *Farnese at la Granja."* Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, San Ildefonso, I-3.

With the help of these inventories and other documents it is possible to trace a general outline of Christina's collecting interests as well as the life of specific objects.[12] The following chapters will link trends and items from locations such as Prague and Antwerp to Sweden, then back to the Netherlands, to her palace in Rome, through the collections of Azzolino and the Odescalchi, to the eighteenth-century purchases of her sculpture collection by the Spanish crown and of her library by the Vatican. This chronological assessment of her acquisition history has made possible the association of antiquities once owned by Christina with the specific location of their display in her palace and with extant pieces now in Sweden, Italy, Brittan, and Spain.[13]

Major groups of archival records related to Christina's collections are dispersed across Europe. In Italy the Odescalchi archives, Archivio Storico Communali in Jesi, Archivio di Stato in Rome, and the Regisina collection of the Vatican Libraries all have large collections of material related to Christina's objects. In France the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris holds inventories and prints while the Bibliothèque de l' école de médecine de Montpellier in Montpellier holds Christina's correspondence and the library of Cardinal Albani. In Spain, documents relating to the eighteenth-century sale of Christina's marbles belong to the Patrimonio National and the Prado Museum. A large number of Swedish institutions hold objects and documents related to Christina's collections both before and after her abdication.[14] Additional archival documents and antiquities are now located in Antwerp, London, and Vienna.

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[11] Stephanie Walker, "The Sculpture Gallery of Prince Livio Odescalchi," *The History of Collections* 6, no.2 (January 1994): 200-216.

[12] While several inventories related to Christina's collections were published in the late 1700s through early 1900s, most were reproduced only partially as the authors of those texts were primarily concerned with her paintings. The catalog of the Nationalmuseum's 1966 exhibition remains the best, most comprehensive source on archival material related to Christina but Arkenholtz and Granberg have produced the most comprehensive versions of documents related to the queen. Johan Arckenholtz, *Memoires Concernant Christine reine de Suède* (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Pierre Mortier, 1751-1760).

[13] Despite having access to such a large amount of documentation on the objects, recreating Christina's purchase and display history remains a challenge for several reasons. Difficulties arise in locating the original and full text copies of all extant inventories due to the extent of their physical separation and confusion related to the many nicknames and date attributions they have received over the last two centuries. Amidst many institutional renovations and closures, some documents and objects are currently inaccessible.

Some of the identifiable objects that we know to have been in Christina's collections appear to have undergone extensive remodeling, physical interventions, re-attributions and re-purposing since her departure. Ann Marie Leander Touati has worked to identify such shifts, secure probable identifications of the antique sculptural types seen in the Swedish royal collection, and address challenges presented by Early Modern and twentieth-century restoration work.[15] Similar formal analysis of the antiquities owned by Christina that are now in the Prado can be found in the recent catalog of the collection produced by Miguel Ángel Elvira Barba. More work is needed on the seventeenth-century works after the antique which do not appear in most of the surveys of Christina's antiquities collections but which would not have been seen as being appreciably different than the authentically ancient marbles or fragments with extensive modern interventions.

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[14] In Sweden the Nationalmuseum holds extant objects from Chrsitna's collections as well as exhibition records related to the queen. The Slottsarkivet and Kungliga Biblioteket have prints, drawings, and manuscripts related to her purchases and residences. Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities has several of Christina's marbles on display. The Livrustkammaren promotes research on the queen with a sizeable collection of objects once owned by Christina. The Universitetsbiblioteket at Carolina Rediviva, the Gustavianum, and Myntkabinett at Uppsala have collections of objects, manuscripts, books, and medals owned by the queen or related to her reign. What is left of Christina's correspondence and personal documents includes palace inventories and copies of her unfinished autobiography. These documents inherited by Christina's heirs are now known as the Azzolino Collection, purchased by the Swedish Riksarkivet and moved to Stockholm in 1929. *Azzolino Sammlingen,* Riksarkivet Marieberg, Stockholm.

[15] Ann-Marie Leander Touati and Johan Flemberg. *Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities.* Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2013.

The rapid acquisition of objects, coupled with patronage of the arts by Christina has historically been discussed as symptomatic of a young woman's loose control of finances and her inability to curtail spending.[16] In the following chapters, I will begin to address how, why and where Christina acquired her collections of books, marbles, bronzes, coins, cameos and gems with the aim of gaining a better understanding of the ways in which such objects fit into her larger program of self-fashioning through the antique. My focus is not on parsing out archaeological questions or challenging attributions of sculptural types for each piece. Instead, my goal is to integrate discussion of the queen's ancient marbles, bronzes, books, manuscripts, and coins with discussion of her collection of Early Modern pastiches, copies, works *al antica*, curiosities, and books. As evidenced by an analysis of the inventories and an examination of collecting patterns, it is clear that all of these items were inseparable components of a cohesive and deliberately constructed antiquarian collection.[17] Any attempt to describe only one of these areas of her collecting interests would undermine the goal of producing a portrait of Christina as a collector whose classicized persona was developed through a wide variety of objects and images.[18]

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[16] A sharp increase in the number of individuals and families elevated to the rank of nobility through proliferous fabrication of royal titles under Christina depleted royal funds beyond the acquisition of objects and import of entertainments. Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt, "Italian Music at the Swedish Royal Court of Queen Christina" (unpublished manuscript, Uppsala University, 2016), 1-4.

[17] The analysis of the contents of Roman collections presented in Part Two will underscore these common features, attributes, and necessary components of Early Modern antiquarian collections.

Because the inventories do not always distinguish between ancient and modern pieces, I have not deemed it essential for the purposes of this dissertation to make such evaluations in every case. This social approach to the collections is reflected in how I choose to document and discuss Christina's purchases and installations. I am not as concerned with identifying legitimately ancient works from pastiches or the century and type of her antique marbles unless such designations are specifically mentioned in the Early Modern written sources.[19] Rather, my focus is on how all of the items displayed fit together to form a cohesive display and how that display was received by viewers. The objects were viewed together as part of an immersive environment. It is my goal to reproduce what Christina was collecting, look at how those objects were displayed and how they were viewed with other items.

A large amount of literature on Queen Christina focuses on her character, sexuality, abdication, and religion. Films, operas, and plays, as well as popular biographical publications demonstrate the broad public appeal of Christina's story. There was a large body of literature on the queen's biography, maxims, and court produced in the century following her move to Rome.[20] The foundations of contemporary scholarship on Christina were laid by the publication

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[18] Barba, Miguel Ángel Elvira. *Las esculturas de Cristina de Suecia: un tesoro de la Corona de España.* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2011).

[19] Such evaluations only aid in a current study of extant objects, not their Early Modern value, use, or reception This sort of analytic, archaeological approach to extant antiquities from Christina's collections has been carried out to some extent by Ann Marie Leander Touati with reference to Christina's Swedish objects, and by Barba at the Prado for the portions of her Roman collections now in Spain. There is a great deal more work that stands to be done on the seventeenth-century sculpture after the antique in Christina's collections.

[20] A handful of the most useful of these early sources on the queen are as follows. Jean Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert, *Memorie e reflessioni sopra Cristina Regina di Svezia, tradotte dall'originale francese* (Lucca, 1767); Carlo Festini, *I Trionfi della Magnificenza Pontificia celebrati per lo passaggio nelle Città, e luoghi dello Stato Ecclesoastico e il Roma per lo riceuimento della Maestà della Regina di Svetia, descritti con tutte l'attioni seguite alla Santità di N.S. Alessandro VII* (Rome: Reu. C. Apost., 1656); Christina, *Hännes Konglinga Maj:ts af Swerige Drottning Christinae Moraliska Tankar* (Stockholm: printed for Peter Jör Nyström, 1756); Christian Stieff, *Leben deer Weltberühmten Königin Christina won Schweden nach denen geheimesten intrigven und merckwürdigsten umständen mit möglichstem fleisse entworffen.* (Leipzig: Thomas Fritschen, 1705); M. Lacombe*, Lettres choisies de Christine,*

of primary source material and analysis of the queen's motives for abdication and conversion by scholars such as Johan Arckenholtz in the eighteenth century as well as Olof Granberg and Baron Carl Bildt in the late nineteenth century.[21] Sven Ingemar Olofsson and Sven Stolpe published additional documentation related to the queen's abdication and maxims in the mid-twentieth century.[22] Efforts to further understand Christina's motives and private thoughts will be aided with the digitization of letters between Cardinal Azzolino and Christina.[23] The letters were written, in part, in a code developed by the pair for private portions of correspondence, passages of which remain untranslated.[24]

The titles and subjects of a large number of relevant archival documents were published in the form of an annotated list in the 1966 catalog of the Nationalmuseum show *Christina*

Reine de Suède, à Descartes, Gassendi, Grotius, Pascal, Bayle; au Prince de Condè, au Duc d'Orléans, Régent; à Louis XIV, à Mademoiselle de Montpensier, à Mademoiselle Lefevre, à la Comtesse de Sparre, à l a Comptesse de Bregi, etc. avec la mort tragique de Monadeski, son Grand-Ecuyer (Villefranche: chez Hardi Filocrate, 1760); M. Lacombe*, Lettres secretes de Christine, Reine de Suède, aux personnages illustres de son siècle, dediées au Roi Prusse* (Geneva: chez les Freres Cramer, 1761); Bartolomeo Lupardi, *Vera e distinta Relatione della solenne cavalcata fatta in Roma nell'ingresso della real Maestà di Christina Regina di Suetia li 23 Decembre 1655. Con la descrittione delle cerimonie, del Concistoro public, della Cresima, e Communione datela per mano della Santità di N.S. Alessandro VII. All'Ilustriss…* (Rome: for Nicolò Angelo Tinassi, 1656). Most can be found in the library of the Swedish Institute in Rome which houses a large library of material on Christina.

[21] Arckenholtz, *Memoires Concernant Christine reine de Suède*; Carl Bildt, *Christine de Suède et le cardinal Azzolino: lettres inédites, 1666-1668* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1899); Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri*.

[22] Sven Ingemar *Olofsson, Drottning Christinas tronavsägelse och trosförändring (Uppsala:* Appelbergs boktr, 1953); Sven Stolpe, *Från stoicism till mystik: studier i drottning Kristinas maximer* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1959); Sven Stolpe, *Christina of Sweden* (London: Macmillan, 1966).

[23] The staff of the Livrustkammaren (Swedish Royal Armory) is currently working with the Riksarkivet to digitize and make available for research and translation all 80 letters written in French to Azzolino by Christina during her extended stay in Hamburg. A link to the Wikimedia pages which will eventually be updated with the digitized letters can be found at http://livrustkammaren.se/en/exhibitions/christinas-letters.

[24] Some of the letters, written between May 1666 and November 1668, are part of the Azzolino collections and were published in 1899 by Bildt. Bildt's research on Christina was extensive and relied heavily on the Azzolino papers. His personal notes and research library now belong to the Svenska Institutet i Rom. It was his foundational research on Christina's letters that allowed the eventual purchase of the Azzolino collection by the Swedish National Archives.

Queen of Sweden: A Personality of European Civilization.[25] Since 1966 there have been occasional efforts to update information on the archival resources available to Christina scholars, continued by several researchers, most notably by Marie Louise Rodén. Some of Rodén's most significant work in this area focuses on Christina's books and manuscripts, now the Regisina collection of the Vatican Library along with over four hundred documents in the collection of Orazio del Monte.[26] The del Monte collection was acquired by the Swedish National Archives in 1994 for its documentation of the early eighteenth century legal battle over Christina's estate. It includes inventories and financial documents related to her Roman court.[27]

Since the publication of the 1966 catalog, several influential collections of essays related to the queen's cultural impact have been produced. These include the results of a *conference held at the Wenner-Gren Center in Stockholm* in 1995 and a volume produced in conjunction with the Livrustkammaren's 2013 exhibition *Bilder av Kristina*, or "Images of Christina."[28] Several forthcoming books promise to further expand research on the queen including a collection of essays entitled *The Femme Philosophe in Early Modern Art* to be edited by Lillian Zirpolo and a planned volume celebrating the 50th anniversary of the 1966 exhibition that will include essays based on talks given at a colloquium at the Palazzo Corsini in the summer of 2015.

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[25] The catalog and accompanying book of documents and studies related to the queen have become foundational resources for the study of her collections and her intellectual circle.

[26] Marie-Louise Rodén and Aldo Martini, *Cristina di Svezia a Roma 1655-1689*: *mostra di documenti* (Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1989).

[27] Rodén has published a thorough inventory of the contents of the del Monte collection, a great help to international scholars, but there remains much room for further investigation related to Christina's financial obligations and debts.

[28] Marie-Louise Rodén, ed., *Politics and Culture in the Age of Christina*: *Acta from a Conference Held at the Wenner-Gren Center in Stockholm*, *May 4-6, 1995 (Rome: Swedish Institute in Rome, 1997);* Livrustkammaren. *Bilder av Kristina* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 2013).

While the body of primary source material related to the collection of antiquities in Sweden is extensive, published research on the objects, including those acquired under Christina, is limited to relatively few sources.[29] In 1932, Ferdinand Boyer was the first to present a study of Christina's antique sculpture collections in Rome with his publication of "*Les antiques de Christine de Suède a Rome.*" In it, Boyer included a newly located inventory of the *piano terreno* of the Palazzo Riario along with a brief, five-page article on the collection.[30] The inventory of the Palazzo Riario published by Boyer was taken at an undetermined point before Christina's death and his analysis of it focused exclusively on the 122 statues, busts and heads listed. This pre-1689 inventory and Boyer's summary discussion of it remains one of the most informative works published to date on Christina's Roman marbles and how they were arranged.

Texts published on the queen's antiquities for an international audience are scarce.[31] In the first of two planned volumes on the Swedish royal antiquities collections, Ann Marie Leander Touati focuses almost exclusively on the items in King Gustav III's (1746-92) collection purchased from Piranesi in the eighteenth-century.[32] The planned second volume of the study promises an examination of objects in the Royal collections predating Gustav III, with discussion of extant objects from the collections of Christina and Queen Lovisa Ulrika (1720-82). Other notable resources on the antiquities collections are a thirty-eight-page pamphlet on Christina's antiquities by Christian Callmer, published in Swedish in 1954 and a pair of Spanish catalogs, published in 2007 and 2011, featuring portions of Christina's collection now at the Prado Museum.[33] The 2011 Prado catalog published portions of lists of works purchased from the Odescalchi, but provides little analysis of the collection's contents beyond the provenance and the archaeological significance of the sculptural works that ended up in Spain.[34] Articles by Stephanie Walker, and Lilian Zirpolo, have discussed specific aspects of Christina's Roman antiquities collections such as its arrangement in the Room of the Muses in the Palazzo Riario and its subsequent purchase and display by the Odescalchi family.[35] None of these texts provides social context or comprehensive discussion of the queen's collections, nor do they touch on her gems, medals and coins, or library. They also do not offer comparative analysis of contemporary collections or extensive discussion of her network of academics and antiquarians. I hope to address many of these issues in the following pages but additional research remains, particularly in relation to the queen's antiquarian networks in Rome.[36]

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[29] Topics covered in articles and in edited volumes on Christina are often concerned with the dispersal of her collections after her death, modern modes of objects classification, contemporary trends in valuation of certain objects, or the quality of extant records in a given area of the queen's collections. Many of the most detailed resources on the queen's collecting interests were published well over a century ago, and while they still provide an excellent resource, most are focused on the queen's acquisition of paintings. A re-analysis of these early published texts has proven fruitful in relation to my interests in the social history of objects as well as the history of collecting.

[30] Ferdinand Boyer, "Les antiques de Christine de Suède a Rome," *Revue Archeologique* 35 (1932): 254-67.

[31] Part of what makes the subject of Christina's antiquities purchases and displays such a difficult topic to research, and a large part of why it has not been attempted comprehensively until this point, is that extant inventories were written in Swedish, French, German, Italian and Spanish. Reading proficiency in a minimum of five languages is necessary in order to access basic information on the formation of her collections and details of her biography. Most sources on collections in seventeenth-century Rome, such as Bellori's *Nota,* and the travel diaries that I reference throughout part two, are in Italian and have never been translated into English. The vast majority of secondary sources on the queen and nearly all information published on her agents are in Swedish. With the exception of recent doctoral dissertations from Swedish Universities, which are usually in English, the vast majority of scholarship on Gothicism, and Early Modern Swedish historicism is only published in Swedish. For this reason, most scholarship on Christina has been produced by Swedish scholars. Publications in English are largely biographical works and topical essays. Nearly all of the material available on Christina's antiquities collections after their arrival in Spain is in Spanish with information on about two dozen of her best marbles accessible on the Prado's website.

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[32] Ann-Marie Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum, the eighteenth-century collection in Stockholm* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1998). See also: Leander Touati, *Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities*.

[33] These are the most detailed studies of Christina's Roman collection of antique marbles published to date are catalogs produced by the Prado. The most recent of them, produced in 2011, includes images of over two dozen sculptures, acquired in the eighteenth century by the Spanish Crown, formerly owned by Christina. Understandably, this study covers only those sculptures from Christina's collections that were accessioned into the Prado collection and does not attempt to reconstruct Christina's Roman collections in a comprehensive way. Christian Callmer, *Drottning Kristinas samlingar av antik konst* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1954); Sabino Perea Yébenes, "La colección de escultura clásica de la Reina Cristina de Suecia en el Museo del Prado," *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología* 64 (1998); 155-160; Museo del Prado, *Cristina de Suecia en el Museo del Prado*, cat. exp., (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 1997); Barba, *Las esculturas.*

[34] This leaves some amount of uncertainty regarding the fate of other objects listed in early inventories and descriptions of the collection that cannot be identified in the museum's holdings. Some items were not inherited by the Odescalchi or were sold off earlier. Other sculptures were purchased by the Odescalchi from other sources and sold along with Christina's marbles, such as the pendant figure of Augustus, made to accompany Christina's sculpture of Tiberius in the manner of Nicolas Cordier (Prado, E-112 and E-174). Finally, a few items were not included in the sale to the Spanish crown. The most complete catalogs are as follows: Emil Hubner, *Die Antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* (Berlin: Druck Und Verlag Von Georg Reimer, 1862); Eduardo Barrón, *Catálogo de la escultura* (Madrid: Imprenta y fototipia J. Lacoste, 1908); Robert Ricard, *Marbres Antiques du Musee du Prado a Madrid* (Burdeos: Feret & Fils, 1923); Stephan Schröder, *Catálogo de la escultura clásica: Museo del PraPdo* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 1993) (reprinted with additions in 2004, 2009); Museo Nacional del Prado, *El Museo del Prado: la colección de escultura, artes decorativas y dibujos* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2009); Barba, *Las esculturas.*

My work fits within a larger body of scholarship on the queen that seeks to undo centuries of gendered defamation of Christina's character, specifically in regard to her spending on art and cultural patronage.[37] The tendency to characterize such qualities in Early Modern men as the manufacture of magnificence while ascribing spending of the same type to women's frivolity has waned in scholarship. Yet a popular picture persists of Christina as a person focused on entertainments with only a limited interest in the objects she owned.[38] I hope to contribute to a revised image of the queen as the head of an empire with a program to integrate the Swedish empire into court culture in the rest of Europe.

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[35] Walker, "The Sculpture Gallery of Prince Livio Odescalchi," 189-219; Lilian Zirpolo, "Severed Torsos and Metaphorical Transformations: Christina of Sweden's Sale delle Muse and Clytie in the Palazzo Riario-Corsini," *Aurora/WAPACC Organization* 9 (2008): 29-53.

[36] Many of the most well-known and often-cited documents related to Christina's scholarly connections and collections were reproduced in the four-volume work "Memoires de Christine, Reine de Suede" published by Arckenholtz (1751-1770). Current work on seventeenth-century antiquarians in Rome is being produced by Ingo Herklotz, whose work on Christina's antiquarian network in Rome was presented at the 2015 Christina colloquium at the Palazzo Corsini and which will hopefully be published in a forthcoming Italian collection of essays. Arckenholtz, *Memoires Concernant Christine,* vol.1-4; Ingo Herklotz, "Cristina e gli eruditi romani" (presentation, the international conference *Le collezioni di Cristina di Svezia: stato della ricercar,* Palazzo Corsini, Rome, May 25, 2015).

[37] Lars Berglund, Maria Schildt, and Therese Sjøvoll have attributed this historiographic trend toward defining the queen through a negative interpretation of her materiality, to an antiquated, gendered dismissal of Christina's abilities as a scholar and connoisseur. While Christina's father expanded the physical presence of Sweden, Berglund and Schildt have helped to open discussion of Christina's patronage as the intellectual and artistic expansion of the empire. My thanks to professors Berglund and Schildt for making their text available to me in advance of its publication. Berglund and Schildt, "Italian Music," 1. Therese Sjøvoll, *Queen Christina of Sweden´s Musaeum: Collecting and Display in the Palazzo Riario* (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 2015).

[38] This can be seen in popular biographic works such as Veronica Buckley's recent *Christina, Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric,* in which Christina allows members of her court to burn the carved wooden doors of the Farnese palace and sell off décor from her temporary home to heat the halls and pay off debts. In the

This dissertation will add to a growing volume of research on Christina's relationship to material culture. In the last two decades there have been notable publications on the queen's church connections, academy, library, ceremonial objects, painting collections, and patronage written by Eva Nilsson Nylander, Susanna Ackerman, Marie-Louise Rodén, Therese Sjøvoll and Lilian Zirpolo.[39] Many of their conclusions regarding Christina's personal and political motivations for collecting have informed my discussion of Christina's patronage and collecting habits. Christina's interests in theater, festivals, art, and music have been prominent, popular themes for scholarship on the queen with multiple collections of essays focusing on these topics.

Current cultural series being produced across Europe, continue this theme and one can regularly find evenings of dance, music, theatrical productions, and art exhibitions that celebrate her contributions to the arts. The pan-European cultural initiative, *Queen Christina Culture and*

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film *Christina, The Girl King*, she strips Ebba Spare to the waist, passionately having her way with her consort in the basements of the palace surrounded by art taken from Prague. Their amorous encounter takes place on top of a facsimile of the large-format manuscript, *Codex Gigas, which was among the objects taken from Prague by the Queen.* Antiquated, gendered analyses of Christina's spending habbits and her relationship to objects is gradually being replaced through studies that focus on the broader social and political motives behind Christina's patronage. This is seen most readily in recent work by authors such as Camilla Kandare and Marie-Louise Rodén. Veronica Buckley, *Christina, Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric* (New York: Harper Collins, 2005); *Christina, The Girl King* directed by Mika Juhani Kaurismäki (2015; SF Film Finland: 2016) DVD. Kandare, Camilla. 2009. *Figuring a Queen: Queen Christina of Sweden and the embodiment of sovereignty*. (PhD diss, University of California, Riverside, 2009); Kandare, Camilla. "CorpoReality*:* Queen Christina of Sweden and the Embodiment of Sovereignty," in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome,* eds. Peter Gillgren, Mårten Snickare (London: Ashgate, 2012); Rodén, *Cristina di Svezia a Roma.*

[39] Eva Nilsson Nylander, *The Mild Boredom of Order: A Study in the History of the Manuscript Collection of Queen Christina of Sweden*, (Lund: Lund University, 2011); Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and Her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine* (Leiden: Brill, 1991); Marie-Louise Rodén. *Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the Squadrone Volante* (Stockholm: Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, 2000); Sjøvoll, *Queen Christina of Sweden´s Musaeum;* ; Lilian Zirpolo, "Christina of Sweden's Patronage of Bernini: The Mirror of Truth Revealed by Time," *Woman's Art Journal* 26, no. 1 (Spring - Summer, 2005): 38-43.

Peace is being conducted under the patronage of Princess Christina Magnuson of Sweden, sister of the current King of Sweden.[40] The recently founded Christina Academy is an organization of scholars interested in promoting the study Christina and her circle, hosting a yearly colloquium on Christina's birthday and events related to the queen throughout the year.[41] Since her death, Swedish Nationalists, Romans, Catholics, members of the LGBTQ community and queer theorists, feminists, psychiatrists, and Italians have all laid claim to the legacy of Christina, providing unique insight into the woman behind a spectacular biography. This dissertation seeks to establish historians of art and antiquarian studies within the list of stakeholders in the promotion of research on Christina, her collections, and her circle.

Methodologically, I am inspired by and indebted to the work of Sarah McPhee for her archive-based research focused on Early Modern women in seventeenth-century Rome, to Kathleen Wren Christian's work on the history of Roman antiquities collections, and to the contributions of Renata Ago, Lisa Jardine, Marina Belozerskaya, and Paula Findlen's studies on Early Modern European object histories and collecting culture both in Italy and in the North.[42] My approach is unique in that I focus on Christina's persona, that is, her consciously constructed political self, as it relates to the collection of antique objects which, as I demonstrate, was more typically a male endeavor. I frame Christina's acquisitions within the series of unique political and social positions into which she was placed when she entered Rome, asserting that the princely collection of objects that she developed was constructed, in part, to suit her official Swedish male-gendered royal title and to address perceptions of her as a barbarian.

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[40] The initiative currently has projects and presentations in progress across Europe with additional programing related to Queen Christina being advertised internationally in Belgium, Brazil, Croatia, Greece, Japan and Poland. "Queen Christina Culture and Peace*"* Accessed May 10th, 2018, http://queenchristina.eu.

[41] "Christina Akademien." Accessed May 10th, 2018, http://www.christina-akademien.se.

[42] Renata Ago, Gusto for Things: A History of Objects in Seventeenth Century Rome (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Sarah McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved: A Portrait of Constanza Piccolomini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, C. 1350-1527* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (New York: Doubleday, 1996); Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005); Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994).

A Practical Note on the Format of the Present Study

The transition from Julian to Gregorian calendars that took place in Roman Catholic countries did not occur in Sweden until 1700. In an effort to adopt the standards used across the rest of Europe, from 1700-1740 the Swedish government decided to omit leap days, leading to a calendar year that was out of sync with both Julian and Gregorian systems for much of that period.[43] For this reason, some dates noted here may not coincide exactly with what has been printed elsewhere, particularly in books published in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I have done my best to reconcile dates to the Gregorian calendar unless specifically noted otherwise. Some authors, and many Swedish sources have noted which system they are using. Most secondary sources, particularly those in English, do not note how they have dealt with Sweden's dating inconsistencies, further complicating the issue.[44]

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[43] Administrative issues in 1704 and 1708 prevented the omission of leap days that should have occurred and in 1712 Karl XII reverted temporarily back to the Julian Calendar, thus adding additional complexity to the dating on documents produced during this period. For more on how this change effects particular documents see: Henrik Lunde, *A Warrior Dynasty: The Rise and Decline of Sweden as a Military Superpower 1611-1721* (Philadelphia and Oxford: Casemate, 2014), 16-18.

[44] Ibid.

Scholarship on the queen's collections has been produced consistently in Swedish, Italian, Spanish, and occasionally in English. Because it was her chosen Catholic name, I have used Queen Christina as opposed to the Swedish Drottning Kristina. For other Swedish proper names and places, I have largely tried to retain Swedish spellings, using the Swedish Gustav Adolf for Christina's father instead of the popular Gustavus Adolphus, Karl instead of Charles, Skoklosters slott, not Skokloster Castle, et cetera. Similarly, I have used common Italian names for Italian proper nouns in their initial appearance. In places, I have adopted English for descriptive purposes where appropriate, such as when referencing the "college of the Jesuits" in Rome interchangeably with the Collegio Romano or when referring to the Palazzo Riario as the Riario Palace.

In reference to select terms, I employ the word "classicism" to differentiate Christina's stylistic preference for what we would now call rigorous classicism in comparison to her parallel (and at that period widely undifferentiated) interest in objects of antique origin. I have used the term "antiquarian" in multiple contexts throughout the dissertation. It can be generally used to describe a person's interest in a broad field of "antiquarian studies," encompassing classical philology, history, science, art, and philosophy. Alternatively, individuals who pursue such studies are given the title of "Antiquarian" to indicate their professional status as a specialist in those areas. While many rulers acquired marbles, plaster casts, and small bronzes, a distinction can be made between those whose passing interest in such objects was purely to display magnificence and those who held an antiquarian's curiosity for such objects.[45]

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[45] This distinction is true across Europe throughout the Early Modern period. For example, both Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy (1480–1530) and Gustav III of Sweden (1746–1792) owned marbles which they displayed in their palaces but neither sought to collect academic collections featuring Roman coins or full sets of busts of Roman Emperors. The types of objects, the presence of a specialized library, and the over-all quality of the marbles acquired

The term antiquarian, as used within the framework of this paper, indicates a broad interest in the study of mythology and ancient history, including Graeco-Roman science, mathematics, art and literature as well as a desire to situate ancient objects within an academic, not purely aesthetic context. Given this definition, Christina certainly falls into the category of antiquarian collector. Her thematic displays, encyclopedic approach to acquisitions, establishment of the Arcadian Academy, and her hiring of dedicated court antiquarians such as Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) substantiate this label.[46] My use of "Antiquario" to describe Christina in the dissertation title is a reference to Christina's deep understanding of, and personal interest in ancient art, philosophy, science, and literature, and her sponsorship of scholars who pursued such topics professionally. It is also an intentionally gendered title as antiquarian study was a typically male pursuit. This use of a masculine term to describe Christina's collection of books, antique sculptures, coins, cameos, and architectural fragments underlines my argument that it was in part Christina's official title of King of Sweden, given to her due to her sole rulership of the country, that these collections were developed to support.

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can help to differentiate between collections of antique marbles developed for purely social or aesthetic reasons and those of collectors with more scholarly interests.

[46] Bellori, previously antiquarian to the Pope, was tasked with managing Christina's library and overseeing her archaeological digs and purchases. When Christina's desires, interests, and actions are referenced, it should be noted that many of the practical aspects of purchase and display were likely the direct product of the relationships forged by Bellori and other agents and the queen. Both in Rome and in Sweden, it appears that the agency behind general acquisition trends and the thematic rhetoric of Christina's displays can still be attributed to the queen and was not solely a construct of her art agents and advisors.

Abridged Biographical Account

There are many biographies, some more nuanced than others, which readers may consult to get a picture of Christina's life.[47] Because of her extensive travel, exceptional lifestyle, minority rule, love of letters, and pure happenstance, we have a large body of contemporary historical accounts of the queen's life including a collection of her own writings.[48] This wealth of documentation has provided a basis for detailed biographies which are often forced, for the sake of brevity, to gloss over large portions of her life that were less politically active on an international scale. A complete biographical account here would be impossible, however the following select biographical sketch will help to illuminate specific aspects of her unique and complicated experience which are relevant to the topics I address.

Queen Christina was the only surviving daughter of Gustav Adolf Vasa, often referred to by his honorary Latin title Gustavus Adolphus, and his wife Maria Elenora of Brandenburg. As told in Christina's unfinished autobiographical manuscript, her birth, like many other origin stories, set the stage for a lifetime of dashed hopes, exceeded expectations, issues related to her gender and sexuality, unconventional appearances, and triumph through adversity. According to the queen, she was born on December 8th, 1626.[49] After two older siblings died in infancy, it was predicted that a male heir would be born. When the newborn Christina gave a strong yell, her body obscured by a cowl, her midwife announced that the baby was a boy. After realizing the mistake, the nurse carried Christina to the King, exposing the infant to him to reveal the error. The King was reported to have been unaffected by the revelation, proclaiming that Christina would be heir to the throne. While this account was surely embellished to serve rhetorical purposes, Christina was raised as the only heir to the throne. As such, she received a typically male education. She was provided the same lessons as if she were a prince, and educated alongside her cousin, and future heir to the throne, Carl Gustav.

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[47] A wide variety of sensationalized biographical accounts as seen in Barbara Cartland's *The Outrageous Queen: The Romantic Life Story of Queen Christina of Sweden* continues in more recent popular publications such as Veronica Buckley's *Christina, Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric.* Work by Barbara Cartland, Sven Stolpe, Kurt Weibull, and Georgina Masson have largely withstood the test of time while publications in the last decade by Marie Louise Rodén and Erik Petersson have moved beyond the standardized biographical narratives and titillating speculation on sexuality and psychology to examine political and social motivations behind Christina's "eccentric" behaviors. For the most thorough biographical accounts of the queen see: Barbara Cartland, *The Outrageous Queen: The Romantic Life Story of Queen Christina of Sweden* (London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1956); Sven Stolpe, *Christina of Sweden*; Curt Weibull, *Drottning Christina*: *studier och forskninga* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1931); Georgina Masson, *Queen Christina* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969); Peter Englund, *Silvermasken: en kort biografi över drottning Kristina* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2007); Marie Louise Rodén, *Queen Christina: En biografi* (Stockholm: Prisma, *2008*); Erik Petersson, *Maktspelerskan: drottning Kristinas revolt* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2011); Erik Petersson, *Drottning utan land: Kristina i Rom* (Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2013).

[48] Many documents related to the queen's early life, as well as most of the objects she collected in Sweden and a variety of court records were lost in the fire which destroyed the palace of the Tre Kronor in 1698. The documents that remain are largely letters and records related to the court and a small number of books and other items which were saved from the great conflagration.

Christina was an accomplished equestrian and accounts of her expert command of multiple languages seem to be more than mere flattery.[50] She wrote in French and in Italian and was said to know German, Dutch, Danish, Arabic, and Hebrew in addition to Swedish. Her fluency in each of these languages is a matter of some debate, but her competence was such that contemporaries wrote about her polyglot skills. It was said that she spoke French as well as a native Parisian, a claim whose truth likely lies somewhere between fact and flattery.[51] After the death of her father in Germany at the battle of Lützen Christina inherited the throne at the age of six. A privy council, headed by Axel Oxenstierna ruled in her minority since her mother was a foreign queen and not inclined towards politics.[52]

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[49] Christina wrote an unfinished biography which was published in Arkenholtz. Johan Arckenholtz. *Memoires Concernant Christine reine de Suède* (Amsterdam and Leipzig: Pierre Mortier, 1751-1760).

[50] On Christina's education see: Leif Åslund, *Att fostra en kung: om drottning Kristinas utbildning* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2005).

[51] Her household ledgers, inventories and most financial papers in Rome were written in Italian but she communicated with members of her court such as Raphaël Trichet Du Fresne in French.

In both position and disposition, Christina took after her father. In part, our current perception of this close father-daughter relationship and strained maternal bond is due to a successful campaign at the time of her minority to establish Christina as the inheritor of Gustav Adolph's military prowess and noble genealogy.[53] In his recent work on female regents in the Renaissance, William Monter refers to Christina as "that incurable royal misogynist." [54] Citing the queen's remark in the 1670s that her mother "was no less capable of governing than anyone we have seen of the other maternal queens and princesses in this century; in truth, they were all as incapable as she of governing," Monter extrapolates, as others have, that Christina believed all women were unfit to rule.[55]

While her noted disdain for her mother's feminine demeanor corroborates Christina's repeated insistence that the traditional roles of a queen were incompatible with sole female rule, it would be an oversimplification to say that she did not think any women was capable of running a country. Christina's uncertainty about a woman's place as sole ruler is frequently among the reasons given for her abdication. Records of her education tell us that Christina read a biography of Queen Elizabeth I and was familiar with that queen's successful approach to sole female leadership.[56] Christina decided early on to frame herself differently. She eschewed the virgin queen guise of Elizabeth. While Elizabeth toyed with international suitors throughout her life, with the exception of Christina's cousin (likely a political ploy on the part of the queen to convince the council to allow her to name him her successor) she discouraged any prospective suitors. In contrast to the elaborately woven, embroidered, and embellished clothes worn by Elizabeth in official portraiture, Christina's dresses were voluminous and of high-quality material but much simpler. Her early portraits often featured a white blouse with black bows while later portraits showed the queen alongside attributes of arts and sciences wearing relatively simple gowns or Roman-inspired draperies in beiges and blues (Fig.1).

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[52] For more information on the government in Christina's minority see: Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Sweden in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 2004), ch.4.

[53] This is a point to which I will return later, however; it is worth noting here that Gustav Adolph did not just win battles, his image was carefully constructed by himself and a host of advisors including his close confidant Axel Oxenstierna.

[54] William Monter, "Female Regents Promote Female Rule, 1500–1630," in *The Rise of Female Kings in Europe, 1300-1800*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 94-122, quote 121.

[55] Ibid, 121.

While she may have felt that an obligation to marry and bear children precluded her from remaining Queen of Sweden, this cannot be decisively connected to a belief that women innately lacked the ability to rule. After her abdication, Christina expressed interest in leading an army in battle and made repeated attempts to claim the thrones of Poland and Naples. In both cases, Christina would have been installed as a ruler with the express provision that she not be required to produce an heir. It was, therefore, primarily the typical gender specific social and familial obligations expected of a female King that she regarded as a hindrance to effective woman rulers, not a belief that women were incapable of assuming typically male roles. Her lifelong support of women's place in theater, her interest in political and militaristic agendas, her acceptance of imagery which flattered her masculine traits and her collection of more typically male objects such as antiquities and trophies underscore this distinction. These last two points will be discussed at length in the chapters that follow.

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[56] Records show that among other texts such as Lipsius's 1589 *Politicorum sive Civilis doctrinae libri sex*, or "Six Books on Politics or Civil Doctrine," the queen read Sir John Hayward's *Annals of the first four years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth* in preparation for her role as Queen. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 57.

In December of 1644, Christina turned 18 and officially took over many of the duties previously under the purview of the council. Her coronation was postponed until 1650 in part due to ongoing war with Denmark, leaving the young queen a considerable amount of time to provide input on the festivities. The coronation was moved from its traditional location in Uppsala to Stockholm, with a procession that wound for miles from Jacobsdal Palace to the Riddarholmen Church adjacent to the Tre-Kronor Palace in central Stockholm. An enormous number of artists in Sweden and abroad were commissioned to create ephemeral triumphal arches, plays, parades, clothes, carriages, decorations, and commemorative medals.[57]

Despite such an elaborate coronation, Christina was only on the throne for four years before she abdicated. Did Christina abdicate so that she could leave Sweden for a more refined lifestyle? So that she could convert to Catholicism? Or to escape the stresses of ruling and the need to marry and produce an heir? Volumes of literature too extensive to cover here have focused on the four-year period between the coronation and Christina's announcement of abdication. These texts debate when Christina made up her mind to relinquish the throne, which members of the Swedish court and the government may have known about Christina's plans to abdicate, and when they knew.[58] Christina had mentioned abdication in the years preceding her exit in 1654, but she quelled many fears related to her health, commitment to the throne, and marital status when she made her cousin Carl Gustav heir apparent in 1649. The move was presumably contingent upon her agreement to later marry him and was billed as a mere insurance tactic following a particularly severe illness.[59]

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[57] On these processions and the preparation for them see: Astrid Tydén-Jordan, *Queen Christina's Coronation Coach* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren, 1988).

[58] Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt argue in a forthcoming publication that the group of Italian musicians that were invited by Christina and arrived in Stockholm in 1652 were part of a plan in the early 1650s that pointed toward abdication. More specifically, they argue that this invitation was indicative of an interest on the part of the queen to relocate to Rome. Parallels can be seen between the interest in French art and culture at the Swedish court in the second half of the 1640s when it was politically advantageous for Sweden to be allied with France. The influx of

It is likely that the queen began thinking of abdicating before her official coronation in 1650 and that Rome was high on her list of possible locations where she planned to live post-abdication. Whether it was a desire to be Catholic which drove her to move to Rome or a wish to be in Rome which convinced her to become Catholic is a matter of debate. Either way, Rome would have been an attractive choice for the queen given the lack of a competing secular ruler, the promise of financial assistance and protection from a grateful papacy, her love of Italian art, her interest in classical learning and her desire to be surrounded by scholars. Her correspondence from Sweden with Athanasius Kircher and Paolo Giordano Orsini confirms her early interest in Roman intellectual and artistic life.[60]

A brief description of Christina's travel to Rome will illuminate the extent to which the queen's interests were made known to her hosts ahead of her journey into the Papal States. The receptions she received were her first personal experiences with southern courts and their intellectual culture. I believe that these events had a strong influence on the formation of Christina's new court and the decoration of her Roman residences. For these reasons I will

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Italian artists and musicians at the Swedish court around the time that Christina might have been feeling out locations and means for her relocation. Although this may indicate that the queen had interest in moving to Rome, her connections with Jesuits in the service of the King of Spain and her extended stay in the Spanish Netherlands post-abdication would indicate that logistical, political and religious complications associated with such a plan were not fully fleshed out prior to her abdication. Berglund and Schildt, "Italian Music," 1-15.

[59] Masson, *Queen Christina,* 103-110.

[60] These correspondences will be discussed at greater length in Chapters Two and Three.

provide here a summary of a few of her early meetings and receptions that will give context to my discussion of Christina's collections and self-fashioning.

After her official abdication, Christina's trip from Uppsala to the Swedish border was swift. The queen's party stopped at the medieval royal residence in Nyköping only briefly to say goodbye to her mother.[61] At the Danish border near Ängelholm, Christina's entourage was reduced to a small group of no more than ten travelers. There she changed into men's clothing and cut her hair.[62] Her plan was to travel incognito through Denmark as the Earl of Donoau, a Swedish nobleman on a tour of Europe. Her brief trip through that country lasted less than two weeks. Her true identity was known to agents of the Danish crown and no extreme haste or stealth seems to have been employed as her party stopped for several days in Nybourg while coaches were prepared for the remainder of their journey.[63]

The subsequent months Christina spent in the Spanish Netherlands were key to her post-abdication success. It was there that Christina established the delicate balance between keeping the Swedish government confident that she would honor the terms of her abdication while assuring her Jesuit agents that plans for her conversion were moving ahead. While in this limbo, she was forced to sell artwork from her collection to support herself.[64] Sweden was committed to war on several fronts and could not help her financially. Christina was not able to receive funding from the Pope since she had not publicly converted. The latter issue became further complicated by Innocent X's death in January of 1655. According to Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, the queen kept herself busy, attending the theater and meeting with long lists of foreign visitors eager to report back on the ruler they had herd so much about. During this time, she traveled frequently, moving to Brussels in 1655.[65]

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[61] The palace at Nyköping was a fitting location for Christina's final goodbye to her only remaining family member. *Nyköpingshus* was the site where King Gustav Adolf was named King and it was one of the primary royal residences where the young Christina had been sequestered with her grieving mother after Gustav's death. Christina's brief meeting with her mother after the abdication would be the last time the women saw one another as Christina received new of her mother's death during her stay in Brussels in March of the following year. Tina Råman, *Nyköpingshus* (Sweden: Statens fastighetsverk, 2008).

[62] "Lords, Soop and Donoau, the Earl of Stemberg, a Swedish Gentleman, her Master of the horse, the Lord Wolfe, Gentleman of her Chamber, and Mr. Apelman her Secretary, with three Grooms of the Chamber." John Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina Alessandra, Queen of Swedland…"* (London: 1658), 57-58.

[63] This journey is described by Conte Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato. The text referenced here as "Galeazzo" is the original Italian version of Conte Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato's account of Christina's journey to Rome. A faithful translation of his account into English was produced by John Burberry in 1658. It is Burberry's translation that all of my citations of Galeazzo refer to. Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, *Historia della Sacra Real Maestà di Christina Alessandra Regina di Suetia* (Rome: Nella Stamperia della Rev. Camera Apost., 1656). For the English version see: John Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina*.

The queen stayed for an extended time in Brussels, arriving in December of 1654. She was still there in April of 1655 when she learned about the election of Pope Alexander the VII Chigi. The timing of the election was fortuitous for both the new pope and the queen. While in Brussels, Christina made a private conversion to Catholicism after which her Jesuit intermediaries sent notice to Alexander VII that she intended to travel to Italy. Christina found Alexander sympathetic to her situation and enthusiastic about her conversion. The pontiff was eager to make a mark in his new position with a lavish welcome to Rome for the queen. On September 22, 1655, Christina and her party left Brussels in the direction of Rome. Galeazzo provides a picture of the traveling party that accompanied the queen as she departed Flanders heading for Brabant, describing how "the queen's Court was grown very numerous, being about two hundred persons in all, who were all at the queen's charge, except the retinue of the Ambassador Pimentel, who travelled by himself, and at his own cost."[66]

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[64] This sale will be addressed again in chapter one.

[65] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 95-97.

By the time they arrived in Innsbruck, Christina had been assured by the King of Spain as well as the new pope that she would be welcomed in Rome however, I do not believe that at that point she had resolved to live in the city permanently. While some of her household items were sent on to Rome with her, many of her books, paintings, sculptures, and tapestries did not arrive there until more than a year later.[67] At Innsbruck, Christina was met by Lucas Holstenius (1596-1661), the Vatican librarian who had been sent to intercept the queen on behalf of Pope Alexander VII.[68] The entirety of the trip from Brussels to Rome took the queen's entourage three months during which time preparations, including a suitable temporary residence in the Palazzo Farnese, were organized.[69] Galeazzo notes that Holstenius received a letter at the end of October, entreating the queen to proceed slowly through the Papal States so as to provide as much time as possible for arrangements to be finalized in Rome.[70]

After a formal feast in her honor, and on the eve of her public conversion, Christina was brought by the Archduke and Duchess to Ambras Castle in the hills above Innsbruck where she visited the Archduke Ferdinand's collection of medals, curiosities and ancient manuscripts.[71] This visit, like the presence of Holstenius, expertly played on the queen's love of art and

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[66] Don Antony Pimentel was the Spanish Ambassador to Sweden who had left the queen in Stockholm and rejoined her for the latter part of her journey. Ibid., 98.

[67] We know this due to the execution of an inventory of Christina's artwork that was taken in 1656 in Antwerp. *Inventaire des meubles et hardes appartenants a sa Majeste la Serenissime Reyne de Suede*, *destines pour envoyer a Rome, reposants en ceste ville d'Anvers 1656,* no. 2479, FelixArchief-Stadsarchief Notariaat, Antwerp.

[68] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 136.

[69] The palace was owned by Ranuccio II Farnese, Duke of Parma who evicted the palaces previous tenants in preparation for the queen's arrival. Margaret Kuntz. "*Questions of Identity*: *Alexander VII*, *Carlo Rainaldi, and the Temporary Façade at Palazzo* Farnese for Queen Christina of Sweden," in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome Vol. 58,* ed. Brian A. Curran (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 159-175.

[70] Letter dated the 31st of October, 1655. Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 137.

[71] Ibid, 149-150.

learning. The entertainments which were developed for Christina on her trip to Rome demonstrate that her hosts knew the queen's interests. Feasts, music, and theater along with visits to curiosity cabinets, horseback riding, and artillery demonstrations marked each stage of the journey. In Ferarra, Christina reportedly was thrilled with her visit to the fortress where they had set up pieces of artillery for her to help discharge. At dinner, she excitedly discoursed with the Duke and Duchess on her favorite artists in Rome (Bernini and Pietro da Cortona), the architecture of Europe's greatest churches, and gossip regarding the most recent conclave in Rome.[72]

Passing through Romagna, the entertainments appear to have been equally suited to the queen's artistic and academic interests. At Imola, Christina was publicly feasted, "the figures adorning the table, were so finely contriv'd, and with such mysterious Hieroglyphicks, that the queen looking earnestly upon them, nourish't more her mind than her body."[73] In Faenza the theme of art and learning continued with statues representing Rome and the four corners of the world accompanying dinner, and a set of silver globes were presented to her by the Cardinal Legate. Academies were organized with discourse in five languages to entertain the queen in both Faenza and Cesena.[74] Cities in the Papal States vied for the chance to host the queen, with churchmen and nobles returning from posts in Rome and elsewhere to welcome her. Plaques commemorating her visits were left as physical reminders of the ephemeral decorations and public celebrations.[75]

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[72] Ibid, 223-225.

[73] Ibid, 245.

[74] Ibid, 248-250.

Once in Rome, Christina lived briefly in the Palazzo Farnese. Several subsequent years of international travel were interspersed with extended stays at the Palazzo Rospigliosi Palavicini, and the lease of the Palazzo Riario. Her continued happiness in Rome depended heavily on her relationship with the papacy, and she was deeply involved in scheming with Cardinal Azzolino and the Squadrone Volante to influence the conclave which resulted in the election of Clement X.[76] In her later years, projects such as the series of medals commissioned from Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi (1656–1740), indicate that Christina was concerned about the appearance of her royal legacy outside of its importance to the Catholic Church. Christina's art collections and academic patronage in the final two decades of her life in many ways resembled her pre-abdication life in Sweden. However, the means of acquiring them and her social position among collectors changed. This re-ordering is reflected in a more limited ability to commission large scale works due to strained finances and her placement below the Popes and their families in the hierarchy of individuals with the right of first refusal for many archaeological finds.

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[75] In the city of Rimini, the ancient arches were updated with a marble monument bearing the symbol of Alexander the VII which read "In the reign of Pope Alexander the seventh, Christina Queen of Swedland, embracing the Catholick Religion of her owne accord, and devesting herself of her Kingdoms, in her journey to Rome, to yield obedience to the Pope, passed through Rimini, in the year of our Lord, 1655 in the month of December, in perpetuall memo|ry of the thing, Angelinus de Angelinis I. C. Arim." In Ancona, Christina went quickly to visit the ancient arch of Trajan and on her way back to the palace, found two arches, on which were plaques, the older of the two having an old inscription which read "'Tis made Celestiall, while the Princely Sun beholdes the Arche," with the coats of arms of Alexander VII and Christina along with the motto "The Starr's and Wind favouring." On the second arch, the words "The immortall vertue of Christina Queen of Swedland raises me to a ve|neration of her Majesty," were accompanied by statues of Virtue and Liberality and two giant medals that praised her decision to leave Sweden, saying "By yielding she o'recomes, by fly|ing quells her enemyes." and, "By parting with her Kingdom, she her Empire hath extended." Rome is additionally littered with small reminders of her time there with plaques existing today to mark occasions of her life there in the Pizza del Poppolo, Capitoline and Palazzo Corsini. Ibid, 264, 285-286.

[76] According to Masson and Rodén, Christina went so far as to move out of the Palazzo Riario and into the Palazzo Collona in the Borgo for a short time in order to be able to more discreetly pass notes to Cardinal Azzolino during the conclave. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 355-356.

Biographies summarize the years between 1668 and her death in 1689 as the best years of Christina's life. It was certainly the most stable, established, and productive period for the queen as a collector. However, her decision to remain permanently in Rome should not be interpreted as a loss of interest in international political affairs. She continued to travel for over a decade after her initial entry into Rome, pursuing the crown of Naples with the help of France to no avail.[77] In the year prior to her final return to Rome at the close of the 1660s, Christina made one final attempt to claim a European throne, putting forward her name for the crown of Poland to which she had a somewhat legitimate claim through her familial ties to the Polish King Sigismund III Vasa. She was helped in this endeavor by new Pope Clement IX Rospigliosi, elected after Alexander VII's death in 1667, but she was ultimately not elected to the position.[78]

At her Roman court, Christina was known as a prominent patron of music and theater. In 1667 she assisted with the transformation of the Teatro Tor di Nona, later the Teatro Apollo, from a jail to a theater. The Queen was the primary patron of the theater and used it as a social space, hosting foreign visitors, cardinals, and members of Roman society in her royal box. She also held theatrical events at the Palazzo Riario, famously allowing women to preform there after the Innocent XI closed the Tor di Nona theater and banned women from the stage.[79] She had invited Italian musicians to her Swedish court and continued her patronage of music in Italy throughout her time in Rome.

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[77] The attempt to take the throne of Naples from the Spanish never fully materialized and was cut short after Christina's execution of Monaldeschi while she was a guest at Fontainebleau. Through the interception of correspondence, the queen had reason to believe that Monaldeschi had informed Spain of her plans regarding Naples. For more on the Monaldeschi incident and a list of sources for contemporary reactions to it see: Oskar Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: The Age of Gustavus Adolphus and Queen Christina of Sweden, 1622-1656* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 533.

[78] With the throne of Poland-Lithuania being a non-hereditary elected monarchy, the position, like her previous bid to assume rule of Naples for the French Crown, would not have required marriage or the production of heirs. This would have made it a far more appealing position than the Swedish throne for a queen who explicitly wrote that she had no interest in the institution of marriage.

[79] Per Bjurström, *Feast and Theater in Queen Christina's Rome*, (Stockholm: Bengtson, 1966), 103-109.

From the initial year of Christina's residency, her influence on Rome's social, artistic, and academic fabric was evident. By the end of her first full month in Rome she had established what would become the Accademia Reale. The group of literary scholars, musicians, academics, philosophers, writers, and antiquarians initially met at her residence in the Palazzo Farnese.[80] In various forms, Christina maintained sponsorship of the academy throughout all of her time in Rome. It was in the Palazzo Riario that she would host most of the meetings of what would eventually become the Accademia degli Arcadi. Established formally in 1689, the Arcadian Academy was dedicated in memory of Christina who died in her apartments in the Palazzo Riario on April 19th of that year. It is a testament to the Queen, her interdisciplinary interests, and her inclusivity that the Academy allowed women members as early as the seventeenth century and has remained influential in the intellectual and artistic life of Rome until today.[81] The effects of Christina's interests and her prolific patronage can be seen in the countless operas, treatise, books, poems, and plays dedicated to the Queen.

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[80] Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 2015), 281; Susanna Åkerman "Queen Christina's esoteric interests as a background to her Platonic Academies.*"* *Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis* 20 (2008): 17-37; Susanna Åkerman, "The Forms of Queen Christina's Academies," in *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, eds. D.R. Kelley and R.H. Popkin (*Dordrecht:* Kluwer Publishers, 1991), 165–88.

[81] Since 1925 the organization on the Janiculum has been called the Arcadia Accademia Letteraria Italiana.

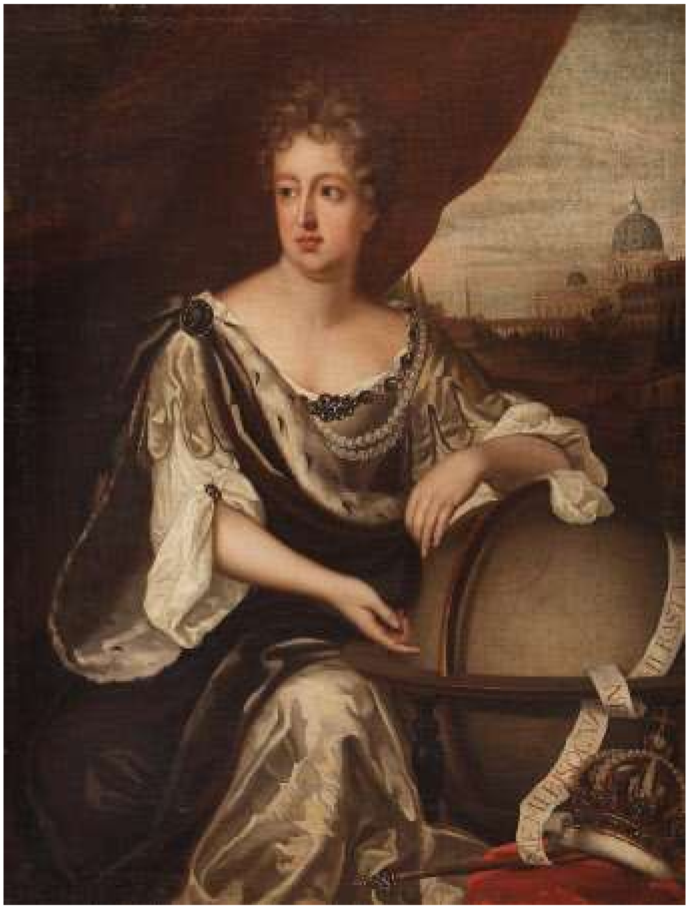

Figure 1: *Christina of Sweden in Rome*. Attributed to or copy after Michael Dahl. 1668-88, oil on canvas. Attingham Park, Shropshire. (Photo: CMS_PCF_609025 Collections – Public © National Trust. The Berwick Collection, National Trust, UK.)

Part One

The Development and Display of Queen Christina's Collections in Sweden

Preface

> She hath made renowned and famous, the city of Stockholm, with the rule of her directions, and the happy remembrance of her government; she having nothing more in her thoughts, than the causing her kingdom to abound with arts, and wealth. Her throne was the Theater of Glory, and Justice; no princess being ever beheld of so free a mind, and a courage so undaunted.[82]

Christina's approach to establishing and representing female power was unique among other Early Modern queens, female kings and regents. Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) had a well-known Renaissance collection of antiquities and rulers such as Marie de Medici had themselves depicted as mythological heroines. Christina set herself apart from her predecessors, constructing a classical persona via the antique through the varied, use of allegorical imagery coupled with establishment of Academies, the collecting of marbles, medals, gems, curiosities, mathematical instruments, and the development of a first-rate humanist library. Despite this singular application of antiquarian collecting by the Swedish queen, Christina's establishment of royal collections of marbles, bronzes, coins, gems, cameos and books in Stockholm and Rome followed well-established traditions of collecting tied to the advancement of political and social power more typically used by men.

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[82] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 14.

The attempt to elevate royal authority and legitimacy by appropriating and displaying the physical remains of Imperial Rome was widespread throughout the Early Modern period. The modern origins of this practice can be seen as early as the twelfth-century in the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (r.1194–1250). Frederick, who wanted to frame himself as successor to Rome's' imperial traditions, gave what many consider to be the first official authorization for excavations in Italy.[83] After the return of the papacy from Avignon in 1417, Rome began a process of revitalization during which the remains of the ancient city saw a gradual transformation in the perception of their worth both financially and culturally. Architectural fragments, sculptures, and inscriptions were no longer seen as debris or building material; they became pieces of art worthy of collection and display in the finest Roman residences.[84]

The collection and display of objects of antiquity as part of a larger program of humanistic rhetoric was developed throughout the fifteenth century across Italy and had already begun to appear outside of the peninsula before 1500. Many collectors became increasingly concerned with having well organized, encyclopedic art collections. Palaces, gardens, and libraries which were praised for having unique and rare objects and for being well ordered.[85] In the sixteenth century, antiquities were often displayed according to aesthetic qualities with thematic or historically based tableaux becoming popular in the succeeding century.[86]

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[83] His search for marbles from ancient Rome began in 1240 and his patronage of art and architecture that recalled classical precedents is one of the most prominent features of literature on his reign. William Tronzo, *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); Roderick Conway Morris, "Under Frederick II, the first rebirth of Roman culture," *The New York Times* (New York, New York), July 5, 2008.

[84] This transformation and a detailed examination of the families that advanced such changes in how antiquities were acquired, displayed and appreciated in Rome are the subjects of Kathleen Wren Cristian's Empire Without End, a now essential text for anyone working on antiquarian studies, the history of collecting or Renaissance Rome. Wren Cristian, *Empire Without End*.

[85] This idea of beauty in order is used often in Early Modern texts referring to garden design and appears in Vassari's descriptions of well-ordered works and organized lists of natural things. Such references can be found in Vasari's, *La descrizione* dell'*apparato per le nozze del principe Francesco de' Medici* and the *Vita* of Filippo

The majority of collections outside of Italy were part of larger *kunst und wunderkammers* as seen in the Duke de Berry's well-known collection of medals, intaglios, coins, and inscriptions. The display of local antiquities by rulers as well as prominent members of the Church and the nobility in Italy helped to establish connections to the ancient past which validated their rule. In Naples, Alfonso I of Aragon (r.1442–58) displayed antique statuary as part of a larger program that sought to associate the ruler with the local cult of Parthenope.[87] In Rome, Pope Sixtus IV della Rovere (1471–84) established a collection of antiquities on the Capitoline Hill, setting a precedent for rulers and Roman nobility alike.[88] The sixteenth-century saw elaborate and renowned displays of ancient coins, gems, and marbles by political leaders such as Cosimo I de Medici (1519–74), as well as prominent members of the d'Este, Colonna, and Massimo families.[89] The objects displayed in these collections consisted heavily of local antiquities. Such local objects conferred their owner with status and demonstrated without words the wealth, historical importance, and well-rooted legitimacy of their owner's familial lines. By

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Brunelleschi. Giorgio Vasari, *Opere di Giorgio Vasari Secondo Le Migliori Stampe e Con Alcuni Scritti Inediti,* ed. Antonio Racheli (Trieste: Sezione letterario-artistica del Lloyd austriaco, 1857), 225, 1228-30. This phrase is somewhat expounded upon with reference to antiquities in a dissertation by Andrea Gáldy. Andrea Gáldy, "'*Con bellissimo ordine*': *Antiquities in the Collection of Cosimo I de' Medici and Renaissance Archaeology,"* (PhD diss, Manchester, 2002), 1-15.

[86] Andrea Gáldy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector: Antiquities and Archaeology in Sixteenth-century Florence* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), XXIII.

[87] On this topic see: Jessica Hughes, Claudio Buongiovanni eds., *Remembering Parthenope*: *Reception of Classical Naples from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 189-243.

[88] His nephew, Pope Julius the II would take up the mantle of his uncle's interest in antiquities, amassing a collection of art and marbles and establishing the first display of antique sculpture at the Vatican. Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 81.

[89] Wren Cristian, *Empire Without End*, 2010; Gáldy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector.*

having such objects, a person’s learning and taste could be seen by all. Perhaps more importantly, his or her entire family or institution could be ennobled by an air of permanence and an unspoken but palpably felt sense of ownership projected by the objects displayed. Local antiquities carried with them an authority which superseded immediate memory and granted even the newest leaders or parvenu nobles with a sense of historical belonging.

Outside of Italy, rulers such as Louis XIV (r.1643–1715), Mary of Hungary (1505-58), and Philip IV (r.1621–65) purchased large-scale plaster casts of the most famous marbles. The acquisition of plaster copies was partly out of convenience; a copy was much more affordable than dealing with an unpredictable antiquities market or the uncertainty of sponsoring excavations.[90] The popularity of replicas outside of Italy was a result of tightening Papal restrictions on the export of Roman antiquities. Many collections outside Rome proper, from the Veneto to England, were stocked with a mix of imported objects and locally excavated works. They relied on acquisition of objects from outside of the Papal States.

Because Sweden was well outside the borders of the ancient Roman Empire, the country lacked archaeological sites that could yield classical busts and column fragments. Swedish scholars turned to a sparser body of local antiquities such as rune stones and Viking burial mounds on which to build visual representations of their cultural history. Collections of Roman Antiquities in Sweden prior to Christina's reign are virtually unknown. Some pieces with uncertain provenance such as the Drottningholm Hercules now in the collection of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Fig.2), could have preceded her reign. However, the collection of such objects was infrequent.[91] For all intents and purposes, classical antiquities collecting in Scandinavia began with Christina's acquisitions. The arrival of her purchases and war booty in Sweden not only ushered in the tradition of antiquities collecting but also exerted a broader cultural influence that impacted various aspects of Swedish cultural life, including music, food, dance, art production, and architecture.

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[90] Why have just a pastiche or a newly un-earthed Hercules when you can have the Farnese Hercules? The Early Modern attitude toward the value of copies versus originals is a fascinating and complex topic. It is difficult not only to ascribe perceived worth to objects of low material value but also to recreate a way of understanding the world outside of our lived experience. Types of value - monetary, historical, social, religious - did not necessarily correlate with one another the way they do today which, as Anthony Grafton has argued, could be due in part to a less linear Early Modern concept of time and historicism. While we cannot expect to fully embody the Early Modern mindset, both textual evidence and the methods of display indicate that the concept of originality in regard to artistic production was a more nuanced spectrum and that these plaster copies were displayed with some similar effects as if it were a collection of marbles. It is, therefore, reasonable to include ownership of plasters, terracottas, and other copies in any study which attempts to understand Early Modern antiquities trade, collection, and display. Anthony Grafton and Daniel Rosenberg, *Cartographies of Time: A History of the Timeline* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2013).

The contents of the Swedish Royal collections both before and after Christina's additions can be traced through inventories and letters, some more specific than others. Much of what Christina inherited was acquired under Gustav Adolph. Inventories of the Royal Treasury at Gripsholm show an increase in art holdings between 1529 and 1549 with the number of artworks listed leaping from 13 to 92 items.[92] Descriptions of the objects in the collections Christina inherited are sparse and unspecific making it difficult to trace individual items. However, it is clear that the strengths of the sixteenth-century collections were tapestries and paintings from Germany and the Netherlands.[93] The following chapters will serve the purpose of establishing the mid-sixteen-hundreds as a formative period in Swedish antiquarian collecting, recreating to the best of our ability, Christina's inheritances, purchases, and acquisitions in this area.

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[91] NMSk 32. Niles Wollin, *The Marbles in the Royal Park of Drottningholm* (Stockholm: Saxon and Lindstroms, 1965), 44-45.

[92] Inventory of the Treasury at Gripsholm, compiled 2 May 1548, Stockholm, Slottsarkivet. Inventory reproduced in *Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia,* 37 (1856). Listed in: Nationalmuseum, *Christina*, *Queen of Sweden: A Personality of European Civilization* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 422 no.1018.

[93] Ibid., 422.

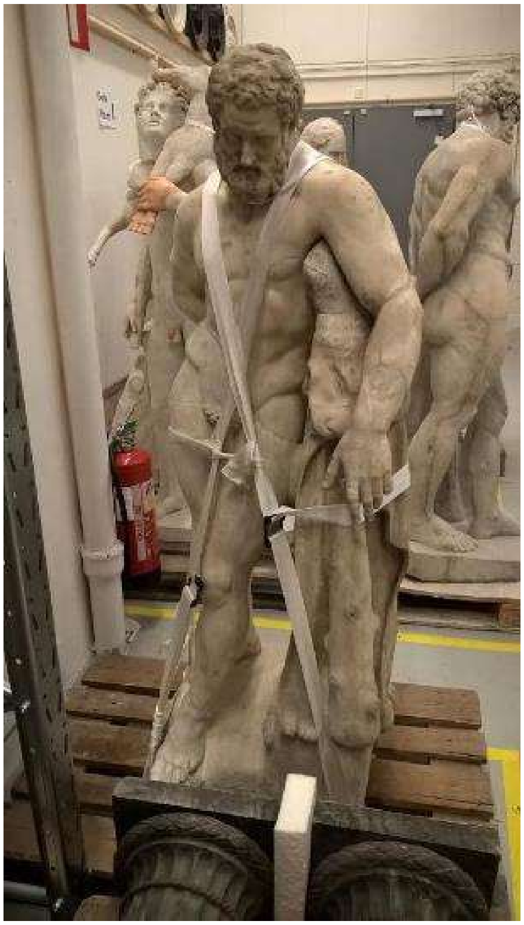

Figure 2: *Drottningholm Hercules*. Antique, marble. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMsk/DrhSk 32 (Photo: Courtesy of Linda Hinners, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm)

Chapter One
Christina’s Cupidity: War Booty and the Foundations of the Queen’s Swedish Collections

Italian Art and Roman Antiquities in Early Modern Sweden

During her reign, an influx of foreigners to Stockholm and Christina’s willingness to fund international travel for members of her court contributed to an intentional increase in cultural diversity in Stockholm during the 1640s.[94] In her biography of the queen, Georgina Masson cites the opening of the *Croix de Lorraine*, a French tavern, as well as an *osteria* as indications of the broader societal impact of cosmopolitanism and the ways in which the city rapidly changed to reflect the inclusion of Sweden within the broader scope of European court culture.[95] The artistic and social internationalization of Sweden was symptomatic of Christina’s desire to integrate the expanded empire into the broader European arena for both personal and political purposes.[96]

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[94] Under Gustav Adolph, Sweden was essentially a fiscal military state. The majority of the national budget went towards the war efforts which had expanded the country’s reach across the Baltic to control Pomerania and potions of Skåne. The small and relatively poor country lacked the infrastructure and landed nobility to sustain the expanded empire. Sweden lacked the fiscal and personal resources to maintain control over the hard-won lands. New research headed by Fred Hocker at the Vasa Museum has advanced our understanding of women’s roles in seventeenth-century Swedish society and the extent to which the financial and personal demands of Gustav’s military campaigns affected Sweden’s social economy. A lack of men and a need for materials meant that women such as Margareta Nilsdotter and Brita Gustavsdotter Båth ended up running shipyards and timber operations. This expanded understanding of the roles assumed by women in Early Modern Sweden might help to adjust our assumptions of the acceptance of a woman as King and of Christina’s capabilities within Sweden and deserves further consideration. The Vasa Museum, Stockholm’s “Kvinnorna” exhibition opened May, 2017. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 170.

[95] A strong alliance with France was essential for Sweden to maintain power. This led to a political and cultural exchange which brought an influx of people, material goods and artists to Stockholm. In addition to the artists and academics invited to Stockholm, the beginning of the Fronde in 1648 drove many to seek the relative stability of the Swedish court.

[96] As Lars Berglund and Maria Schildt explore in their forthcoming article, this internationalization can be seen in a preference for Italian music and art as well as French opera and ballet. Berglund and Schildt, “Italian Music.”

Christina's mother, Maria Eleonora, held interests typical of a seventeenth-century queen: clothes, entertainments, and jewelry.[97] The prevailing accounts of Gustav's widow, and her reaction to his death, revel in macabre descriptions of her inability to release his physical remains for burial. The king died in November of 1632 but was not buried until June of 1634, his body spending those 19 months traveling from Germany back to Sweden and then awaiting his internment in the *Riddarholmskyrkan*.[98] Maria Eleonora's dramatic, prolonged reaction to Gustav Adolph's death and disinterest in politics did not instill in her daughter a positive opinion of female rulership. Christina's need to distance herself from this archetype of royal female behavior and model herself after both her father and her contemporary male counterparts across Europe can be seen both in the objects she collected and in the influence of her taste on Swedish nobility long after her departure.

Unlike regents such as Marie de Medici, Maria Eleonora had limited interaction with the day to day functions of government and the molding of her child into a young ruler. Christina's education and approach to governance were shaped by Axel Oxenstierna and members of the council selected by her father.[99] In conjunction with Christina's acquisitions, members of the nobility in Stockholm began to collect objects that, until the mid-seventeenth-century, were virtually unrepresented in Swedish collections.[100] This collecting has been explored to some extent in the increased popularity of Italianate architecture and the import of Baroque garden design to Sweden by Andre Mollet, Jean de la Valle, Nicodemus Tessin and his son, Tessin the Younger.[101]

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[97] Maria Eleonora became less content with her situation with the death of her husband. This resulted in her leaving Sweden under the cover of night. Upon returning to Germany she was hosted by a nephew until a lack of funds led to her return to Sweden where she lived out the remainder of her life. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 61-67.

[98] Popular stories of Maria Eleonora's madness after Gustav's death are likely equal parts truth and hyperbole. Tales of her caressing the decaying body for a year and then finally relinquishing the corpse but keeping the heart, continue today but appear with the most gruesome detail mainly in guidebooks and historical fiction. The tale still circulated in the late nineteenth-century when the physician F. DeSarlo wrote of Maria Eleonora that: "At the head of her bed she had suspended a golden casket containing the heart of the deceased. She would lament and weep for hours and wished the young Christina to assist at these functions, making her sleep with her in order to have her always present at these scenes." De Sarlo, F. "Psychology of Queen Christina of Sweden," *Alienist and Neurologist*: *a quarterly journal of scientific, clinical and forensic psychiatry and neurology* Vol XIV (1893): 452.

[99] Gustav I Vasa had only established the monarchy in Sweden 100 years before his grandson Gustav Adolf, Christina's father, inherited the throne. The family was installed by a coup that took power from Denmark and the nobility played a large role in their support. The Swedish constitution required a privy council comprised of members of the nobility to advise the King. During Christina's minority this functioned as a regency council.

Christina's antiquities collections in Rome can be relatively faithfully reconstructed. Exhaustive discussion of the queen's Swedish antiquities collections is virtually non-existent.[102] We know that she owned a number of bronzes, marbles and an extensive collection of coins and medals. However, it is difficult to assess which, if any, of these were taken to Rome with her. Letters from the queen's agents and inventories of books, tapestries, and paintings from Christina's Swedish court provide a fairly clear picture of her collections but those lists tend to lack the detail needed to identify specific pieces, particularly when it comes to sculpture, coins and carved gems. The destruction of the royal palace in Stockholm at the close of the

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Beginning at 16 the queen attended council meetings. Once she reached her majority, the privy council along with Christina and the Riksdag (parliament) governed until her abdication. For more on this structure and Swedish court politics in the seventeenth-century see: Mary Elizabeth Ailes, *Courage and Grief*: *Women and Sweden's Thirty Years' War* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018); Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia,* 43-45.

[100] The first notable set of plaster copies after the antique that arrived in Sweden were purchased by Tessin the Younger shortly before 1700 and may have been intended for garden use. These pieces have been part of the collection of the *Konstakademin* since its founding in 1780. Göran Lindahl, "The Swedish Pleasure Garden (1650-1700): Ventures between Classical Re-Creation and a Protestant Work Ethic." *Garden History* 32, no. 2 (2004): 167-87; Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculpture in the Royal Museum*, 24-25.

[101] Projects for patrons such as Oxenstierna at Tido Slott and for Chancellor Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie are often cited examples of the spread of Baroque taste into Sweden under Christina and exemplify the lasting influence of the period on noble residences for the following several decades. Magnus Olausson, "The Aesthetic and Social Reception and Development of the Baroque Garden in Sweden," in *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, Michel Conen ed. (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), 188.

[102] Exceptions, albeit brief ones, include: H. *Brising,* "*Studier* till Nationalmusei antiksamlings historia," *Bihang till Meddelanden frdn Nationalmuseum* 38, (1914): 73-83; Callmer, *Drottning Kristinas samlingar*; Arvid Andrén, *Antik skulptur I svenska samlingar* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur: 1964), 25-28.

seventeenth century further complicates efforts to reconstruct the queen's early collections.[103] Despite these challenges, it is possible to develop a general picture of her early antiquarian interests which will aid in accurately documenting both her changing taste and the manufacture of a public image developed through her display of objects.

The best account of her Swedish holdings is the inventory taken in 1652 by her secretary and librarian Raphaël Trichet du Fresne.[104] The du Fresne inventory breaks Christina's Swedish collections into a series of different objects types. These are: bronze statues large and small, marble statues, medals, rarities of ivory, rarities of amber, rarities of coral, beaded rarities, porcelain vases, rarities from the Indies, cabinets, clocks, globes, mirrors, crystal rarities, rocks, precious stones and jewels, mathematical instruments, various kinds of horns, tables, shields, various pieces in wood, various pieces (other), sculpted pictures etched and in relief, paintings, and portraits.[105]

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[103] The much anticipated second volume to AnnMarie Leander Touati's work on the eighteenth-century royal antiquities collection will focus on Christina's foundational objects and will provide a cross referenced list of all of the extant objects that belonged to Christina along with their associated inventory numbers given to the objects by Gustav III's Antiquarian Carl Fredrik Fredenheim (1748-1803), the National Museum and the current acquisition numbers assigned to the objects when applicable. I have elected not to try and replicate Dr. Leander Touati's research in this area as her interests are based on her training as an archaeologist and therefore lie primarily in assessing the current identification of the objects in relation to their subject matter as it was understood in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. My intent is, instead, to focus on what we can tell about the quantity and quality of the objects in the royal collection at the time and the part that they played withi,n Christina's larger program of collecting and self-fashioning.

[104] Du Fresne was a French scholar previously under the employ of Mazarin. He had an enviable collection of books and artworks and was an avid art lover. In 1651 while living in Rome negotiating work between Poussin and the French Ambassador, du Fresne published DaVinci's treatise on paining with one of its printings dedicated to Christina. At his death he had over 1400 books in his personal library (now in the collection of the Bibliothek National, Paris). The Azzolino collection at the Swedish National Archive holds legal documents related to a claim against Christina brought by Du Fresne's widow after his death. The documents mention that 13 of the crates including books and mathematical instruments were kept by Du Fresne as payment for his services to the queen. There was some debate as to the items claimed by Du Fresne as the documents mention Christina ordering French Customs officials to hold the items for her review. These papers have not been published and are cited in: Nationalmuseum, *Christina of Sweden Documents and Studies,* 403, no. 1040. On Du Fresne see: Lee Sorensen, "Art Bibliographies: A Survey of their Development, 1595-1821" *Library Quarterly* 56 (January 1986): 31-55; Bonnaffé, *Dictionnaire des amateurs français au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1884).

The antiquities owned by the queen during her time in Sweden are difficult to trace. This is due, in part to the fact that they were never installed in a cohesive display owing to the unfulfilled renovation plans for her palace and brief reign. Adding to this challenge is a lack of contemporary documentation regarding specific items as many of her most prized possessions were not individual purchases but came into the queen's collections in groups and by means other than purchase directly through dealers or intermediaries. Some items, particularly those purchased in the final year of her reign were never included in the inventories taken during her time in Stockholm making it difficult to determine with certainty whether items that appear on later royal inventories were purchased by Christina or by her successors.[106]

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[105] There are two Du Fresne inventories. The original was made in Swedish but since du Fresne did not read Swedish he had a duplicate made in French. For the purposes of consistency all references to the "du Fresne inventory" refer to the French document. The headings appear in the inventory as: *Les Statues de Bronze Grandes et Petites*; *Les Statues de Marbre; Les Medailles; Les Raritez d'Ivoire; Les Rarerez d'Ambre; Les Raretez de Coral; Les Raretez de Rocailles; Les Vases de Porcelaine; Les Raritez des Indes; Les Cabinets; Les Horloges; Les Globes; Les Miroirs; Les Raritez de Cristal; Les Rochers; Les Pierres Precieuses- et les ouvrages de Pierries; Les Instrumens Mathematiques; Diverses Sortes de Cornes; Les Tables; Les Rondaches; Diverses Pieces de Bois; Un Meslange de Diverses pieces; Les Tableaux En Sculpture- En Taille, En Relief; Les Tableaux;* and *Les Pourtraits.*

[106] It has been widely assumed that antiquities listed on inventories from before the fire were purchased by Christina. There is only one documented instance of antiquities purchased by other seventeenth-century Swedish monarchs and no ruler until Loudovisa Ulrika in the later seventeenth-century showed an interest in developing the crown's antiquarian collections. Louvisa's specific interest in antiquities signaled the revival of the royal antiquities collections that would be amplified by Gustav III. Her antiquities collections are mentioned in letters to her mother dated Nov. 25, 1748 and April 9th, 1748. Fritz Arnheim, *Luise Ulrike, die schwedische Schwester Friedrichs des Grossen* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1910), 138, 103f. Cited in: Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculpture in the Royal Museum*, 26.

The Sack of Prague

A large number of Christina's earliest acquisitions were made in the months surrounding the signing of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648. This occasion was significant for several reasons. The resulting reparations from the Thirty-Years War came to Sweden in the form of an indemnity and territories. The queen's country was temporarily at peace freeing funds for pacific endeavors and opening lands for new nobility.[107] Just before the treaty was signed, the Swedish sack of Prague represented a monumental material gain for the queen with very little direct financial cost. Christina's eagerness to have troops spirit artwork out of Prague ahead of the signing of the war treaty was related to her general interests in growing her collection and in the quality of the works in the Royal Treasury, as well as the prestige of its previous owner. The need for Christina to rapidly build an art collection that rivaled her European contemporaries was perfectly addressed through the seizure of Rudolph II's revered *kunstkammer*. By taking his objects into her personal collection, she appropriated the former Holy Roman Emperor's magnificence for herself.[108] Objects brought back to Sweden from Prague were used for some time as leverage and currency by the queen. She used some of the most impressive items as gifts.[109] A mixed-stone bust of Commodus as Hercules traditionally associated with the Prague booty was likely briefly in the collection of the queen and was given to Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (Fig.3).[110]

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[107] The North American territory of New Sweden reached its peak during Christina's rule with the establishment of Fort Christina in Delaware in 1638. The significance of this in terms of object history lies primarily in the numerous noble titles given out by Christina in the post-war years. Noble families in Sweden first gained their titles in 1625. These were largely in the form of land with the benefits of the title being a say in the parliament. Christina's elevation of new nobility meant that a new class of individuals in the country were commissioning art and architectural programs to suit their new status while the established nobility looked to elevate themselves above these new rich by similar means, often mirroring the collecting interests of the queen. Alf Åberg, Claes Ellehag and Anna Hamilton. *Riddarhuset* (Stockholm: Riddarhusdirektionen, 1999); Riddarhuset, "Adelns historia: Några sekelvisa nedslag," https://www.riddarhuset.se/adeln-nu-och-da/adelns-historia/ (accessed November, 2017).

[108] Even if all of the items in the collection were not what Christina would have purchased for herself as individual items, the significance of the objects' provenance cannot be discounted.

The acquisition of books and artwork as spoils of war theoretically served to enhance the international standing of the Swedish monarchy and to educate and elevate the entirety of the country's people in the eyes of their European contemporaries. In this respect the body of material brought to Sweden between 1620 and 1648 from Germany and Eastern Europe was a corporeal indicator of the socio-political catalysts that also spurred advancements in Swedish historicism which will be discussed at length in chapter three. The effects of this effort were middling. Over time, ownership of the prestigious collection did enhance Christina's status as a ruler by highlighting her intellect. As evidence of this enhanced status, when she moved to Rome she was readily regarded as a prominent collector and tastemaker.

Such a large haul of priceless artwork taken as war booty, and specifically its relocation to the then-remote reaches of Sweden, was received poorly and resulted in centuries of criticism of both the queen and her country, as it reinforced stereotypes of barbarism.[111] When she went to

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[109] Durer's pendant paintings of Adam and Eve were presented to the King of Spain as gifts. Christina also used booty from Prague and other conflicts in trade for goods and services as seen in the case of both Nicolaas *Heinsius* and Christina's librarian Isaac Vossius who received books in lieu of salary payments. It has been claimed that the queen owed Heinsius over 5,000 rijksdaaler for his purchases on her behalf at the time of her abdication. Malcolm Walsby, Natasha Constantinidou eds. *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 144.

[110] Another bust of Hercules sometimes described as a Commodus was in Christina's Roman collections but is not the same as the Prague bust which is today displayed in Guatav III's Museum of Antiquities at the Royal Palace in Stockholm. The version from the queen's Roman collections is solid white marbles, not of mixed marble, and is now Prado, E-334.That the bust still in Stockholm was a gift from Christina is not proven but can be guessed at given its provenance. The high-quality antique marble ended up back in the Royal collection by the time Gustav III was amassing antiquities for his displays in the later decades of the 1700s. It was documented as coming to the King from the collection of the Tessin family and can previously be traced to the inventory of items brought to Sweden from Prague. On the bust and its acquisition by Gustav III see: Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum,* 27.

Rome, in effect she brought Rudolph's most notable Italian works back to Italy. Such an act helped, at least temporally, to relieve some of the negative perceptions of the means by which she acquired the collection but was not enough to change widely held societal biases that continued to appear in letters and in print long after the end of her life.[112] The notion that the northern people were inherently lacking in the ability to appreciate great artwork continued to be mentioned in literature on the sack of Prague up through the mid-nineteenth century. Even in works which praised Christina's taste, an overt tone of disdain is present. This can be seen in Henry Woodhead's 1863 publication of Christina's memoirs. The author summarizes the queen's pre-abdication interest in artwork, noting of the Prague loot that:

> …the booty was immense, for many of the great Austrian families had taken refuge there. Thirty great chests of books were sent to Christina, besides a number of medals, pictures and manuscripts. Few of the Swedes could appreciate these objects; and there is no doubt that a number of the enemy's guns and standards would have been more valued at Stockholm, and would have been more suitable trophies. The productions of thought have a kind of life of their own, which perishes or remains dormant when they are forcibly transplanted to a ruder people.[113]

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[111] The appropriation of books and artworks as a means of repayment or revenge was not uncommon; the seizure of Maximilian's library by the Pope being just one example among many. Christina was also not the first to loot the famed Prague Kunstkammer and settled for what remained by the time Swedish troops breached the outer portions of the city. It can therefore be reasoned that the primary factor which propagated criticism was the question of whether the Swedish court was fit to properly appreciate the objects, not whether or not they were entitled to them. Modern scholarship continues to address a wide variety of opinions on the repatriation of war booty in Sweden, however; it is generally accepted that items taken during the Thirty Years War were fairly gained within the context of Early Modern warfare. Ibid, 405-408.

[112] For a list of seventeenth-century literature, particularly in relation to the critical gossip Christina endured from her contemporaries throughout Europe, see: Elisabeth Wåghäll Nivre "Writing life – writing news: representations of Queen Christina of Sweden in Early Modern literature" *Renaissance Studies Vol* 23 No. 2 (2009), 221-239.

[113] Henry Woodhead, *Memoirs of Christina, Queen of Sweden, Vol. 1*. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863) 241-242.

The inventory of Prague castle from 1621, paired with lists of war booty taken by General Königsmarck gives an idea of the quantity and general type of items that were shipped from Prague. However, it cannot be taken as an accurate representation of what Christina kept.[114] Along with the inventory of the queen's collection recorded in Antwerp after her abdication, the documentation of Königsmarck's war booty provides a general framework for quantifying her acquisitions. Of the objects brought to Sweden as spoils of war in the seventeenth century, only a fraction survived Christina's departure and the conflagration in the royal residence. The vast majority of surviving objects of this type were likely books taken from Jesuit libraries throughout the Holy Roman Empire that were dispersed throughout Sweden.

Books taken from Prague were incorporated into Swedish university libraries, the queen's personal collections, the royal castle library, private studies, and other unspecified locations.[115] In their work on the books brought to Sweden from Prague, the Swedish National Library cites the library of Dorpat University (Tartu) in Estonia as a likely recipient of war booty.[116] The university was founded by Gustav Adolph and was still under Swedish control during Christina's reign. The deposit of books in universities and libraries throughout the Swedish territories supports the idea that the queen was not only seeking personal gain through the military's material acquisitions.[117] Christina kept many of the best pieces for herself when she left Sweden. However, the intent behind the rapid acquisition of books, manuscripts and artworks was, at its core, a nationalistic endeavor meant to raise rapidly the country's cultural and intellectual status. While most manuscripts were kept for the Royal Library or deposited in Uppsala, many of the printed books were distributed to Abo, Westeras, Strengnas, schools and Stockholm's Storkyrka. Christina is noted to have given the Storkyrka several hundred theological books taken from Moravia and Bohemia for the Church library, now part of the royal library.[118]

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[114] Paintings listed were dispersed both prior to her receipt of the objects and after her assessment of the contents when they arrived in Stockholm in May of 1649. Many paintings taken from Prague were never introduced to the royal collections and were instead gifted or incorporated into the private residences of Königsmarck and his men. Works by unknown hands and paintings by Northern masters, many of which are part of today's collection in the Swedish National Gallery, were not of interest to the queen and were dispersed to decorate royal residences outside of Stockholm, as is the case of the portrait of Ferdinand II by an unknown artist still located at Gripsholm Castle. Christina's preference for Italian painting is well known and it should not be surprising that small works (the portrait in question is 64 x 49 cm) by unknown hands were allowed to remain in the Swedish collections. The Ferdinand II painting is noted in the Gripsholm inventory, no. 1499 as "Från Rudolf II's konstkammare." It may be referenced in the Prague inventory of 1621, no. 1332 "34 stuck brustbilder dergleichen conterfecta." Currently Nationalmuseum inventory number NMGrh 300. National Library, *Codex Gigas*. http://www.kb.se/codex-gigas/eng/Long/handskriftens/war-booty (accessed March, 2017); Alphons Lhotsky: *Die Geschichte der Sammlungen. Festschrift des Kunsthistorischen Museums zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestandes. Zweiter Teil. Vol. II* (Vienna, 1941–1945), 342.

[115] Beda Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden für Mährens Geschichte* (Moravia: Mähr Landesausschuss, 1852) 84; Swedish National Library, "War Booty."

[116] Ibid.

It is difficult to grasp the material volume of the objects taken from Prague.[119] Over 3000 men were involved in the sack of the city. In a letter to her cousin, Christina wrote about her anxiety over Königsmarck's orders to bring back the best items from the city, saying, "do not forget to procure and send me the library and the rarities there in Prague… these, as you know, are all I really care about."[120] They were following orders that were systematic and explicit to retrieve objects not only from the collection of the former Emperor but also high-quality books, manuscripts and artworks from the homes of the nobility. In addition to the Royal Treasury, valuables from the Orsini-Rosenberg library housed in Hradschin Castle, the Jesuit College, objects from the Abbey church, as well as books and manuscripts from the library of the Premonstratensian Monastery at Strahov, were taken by Königsmarck's troops.[121]

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[117] For a full discussion of book acquisition in seventeenth-century Sweden and Christina's collections of books and manuscripts in both Stockholm and Rome as well as discussion of books as Swedish war booty see: Nylander, *The Mild Boredom of Order,* 47-50. Marta Vaculínová, "Bohemica in Sweden and the National Museum Library in Prague," in *War-Booty A Common European Cultural Heritage: Proceedings from an international symposium at the Royal Armory 29-31 May, 2008* (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren 2009), 139-45.

[118] Dudík, *Forschungen in Schweden,*(1852), 85; Lenka Veselá, "Aristocratic Libraries from Bohemia and Moravia in Sweden," in *War-Booty A Common European Cultural Heritage* (Proceedings from an international symposium at the Royal Armory 29-31 May, 2008. (Stockholm: Livrustkammaren 2009) 147-55.

[119] In addition to crates of books and artworks, heavy mathematical instruments, furnishings, delicate yet substantial natural curiosities, weapons and trophies were packed and shipped to Sweden. Swedish forces arrived in Prague ready to move a large volume of material quickly upon reaching the city.

[120] "Songe aussi, je vous prie, de me conserver et m'envoyer la bibliotheque et les raretes qui se trouvent a Prag. vous savez que ce sont les seules choses dor.t ie fais estime." Olof Granberg, *Kejsar Rudolf II:s Konstkammare och dess Svenska öden, och om UppKomsten af drottning Kristinas Tafvelgalleri i rom och dess skingrande.* (Stockholm: Gustaf Lindström, 1902), 25.

Perhaps the best-known piece of war booty taken from Prague still in Sweden is the *codex argenteus,* the so-called "silver Bible," in the collection of the Carolina Rediviva Library of Uppsala University since 1669 (Fig.4). The codex contains a fourth-century translation of the four gospels from Greek into the Gothic language and was likely copied in Ravenna, possibly under the Ostrogoth ruler Theodoric.[122] Although it belonged to Christina and was kept in her library in Stockholm, it was not taken to Rome by the queen. The manuscript instead ended up in the collection of her librarian, Isaac Vossius, who took it with him when he left Sweden. The text is opulent, with silver and gold writing on purple vellum. A silver cover was made for it in the seventeenth century after Chancellor Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie purchased it from Vossius and subsequently donated it to the University.[123]

The acquisition of the *codex* by de la Gardie and his donation to Uppsala University ensured that it would remain in Sweden. This decision was likely driven in large part by a desire to maintain the connection that the manuscript provided between Sweden and established Gothic history. The identification of Early Modern Swedes as descendants of the Goths was a cultural phenomenon that gained popularity in the 1500s in large part through the work of the brothers Olas and Johannes Magnus, re-gaining popularity in the work Olaf Rudbeck, a young favorite at Christina's Swedish court.[124] This movement to intertwine Gothicism with Swedish history was still very much alive in the seventeenth century. It proved problematic for Christina as it was a double-edged sword that provided her a defense against those who would question her right to rule while cutting at her ability to establish a refined and educated court life in the eyes of her contemporaries.[125]

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[121] The sack of libraries was not a new endeavor for the Swedish crown under Christina. The taking of war booty from Jesuit ilbraries, churches and private collections across northern Germany and Poland was practiced throughout her father's campaigns and continued during the regency period of Christina's minority at the direction of Oxenstierna. Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling eds. *1648 War and Peace in Europe: Politics, Religion, Law, and Society* (Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), 405.

[122] Lars Munkhammar, "Codex Argenteus from Ravenna to Uppsala: The wanderings of a Gothic manuscript from the early sixth-century," (Paper given at the 64th IFLA General Conference, Amsterdam, August 16 - 21, 1998). See also: Lars Munkhammar, *The Silver Bible: origins and history of the Codex argenteus* (Uppsala: Selenas 196, 2011).

[123] Ibid.

Christina's acquisition of such an important and impressive Gothic manuscript in the sack of Prague and her relinquishment of it to Vossius highlights the tension created by her association with Gothicism. Christina was not known to have purchased any Gothic-language manuscripts in Rome, nor did she bring native antiquities from her homeland such as runestones with her when she abdicated. Nevertheless, within three years of her death, one of her former scholastic associates was sent to Rome on a mission to find such items in the queen's recently re-located manuscript collection. Johan Gabriel Sarwenfeldt had spent most of 1680 in Rome working in Christina's library and presumably knew her collection well.[126] The fact that he was sent back to Rome so soon after her death in search of Gothic writing is interesting because it indicates that there was an assumption, at least among some, that the Catholic queen might have harbored such items in secret. In the end he found no evidence that Christina or Swedish Catholics before her had spirited away material evidence of Gothicism in Sweden to Rome and the *Codex Argentus* remains one of the only known pieces of Gothic writing.[127]

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[124] Nylander, *Mild Boredom of Order*, 167 n.50.

[125] A gothic past was useful to Sweden for religious as well as political purposes as they attempted to gain and maintain control of Pomerania, northern Germany and parts of Poland. I will return to this topic in more depth as it relates to Christina in Chapter Five.

[126] Nylander has worked on his work on texts now in the Vatican Libraries. She notes that Sparwenfeldt had his mail forwarded to the Palazzo Riario while he was in Rome in 1680, indicating that his business there was primarily for the queen. Nylander, *Mild Boredom of Order*, 167.

Many of the contents of the Swedish royal library from Christina's reign are unknown but the books and manuscripts brought to Rome with the queen have been well cataloged and remain largely intact as a collection.[128] While some of the paintings and tapestries listed in the inventories of the Swedish collections are detailed enough to include artists and subjects, sculptures from Prague largely lack identifying details, often only listing a subject, general form or size. The entries for bronze sculpture do not indicate a close familiarity with the works and are observational in nature, noting the objects as large or small, if they are on a unique base, and whether they are of mixed material. The subjects, likewise, are vague and more descriptive than analytical. Pieces are described as a female figure, a cupid, a small male figure, a centaur with female figure, or a female figure holding a mirror. Artists names are not used. If any of the bronzes taken from Prague were ancient, it is most likely that those pieces would have been small and part of the coin cabinets. Early Modern numismatic collections, particularly ones rich in ancient coins as we know the Prague cabinets to have been, often contained other small sculptures and other valuable curiosities.[129] The larger bronzes were mostly modern works. A significant number of them were pieces by the workshop of Adrian du Vries and remain in Sweden. They were saved from the fire at the Tre Kronor due to their placement in the gardens of Drottningholm Palace.[130]

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[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] For a thorough discussion and examples of what was in Early Modern numismatic cabinets that would have been of similar caliber to Christina's see: Martha McCrory, "Coins at the courts of Innsbruck and Florence: the numismatic cabinets of Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol and Grand Duke Francesco," *Journal of the History of Collections* vol 6, no.2, (1 January 1994): 153–172.

Only seven of the 116 marbles listed in the du Fresne inventory came from Prague while 69 of the 106 bronzes came as part of the Prague booty. None of the sculpture entries make note of whether or not the works are ancient. Three of the marbles from Prague listed by du Fresne are described as a multi-figural relief depicting the story of Goliath. The other four are listed only as figures in marble. From descriptions of the palace collections taken after Christina's departure and a handful of surviving pieces from the period it is certain that the queen owned a large collection of ancient pieces. In 1664, 72 marble portrait busts were put on display in the library of the Tre Kronor, all of which had certainly been collected by Christina before her departure.[131] Even if the four figures from Prague were ancient pieces or pastiches, the bulk of Christina's classical sculpture was not war booty.

It is generally assumed that most of the queen's sculptures were left in Sweden after her abdication due to their size and weight.[132] Moving plaster and marble sculpture, particularly unrestored fragments or poorly preserved pieces was difficult and often not worth the expense.[133]

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[130] The works are well preserved and have recently been restored and replaced with replicas. The original bronzes now form the collection of a de Vries sculpture museum near the grounds of Drottningholm Palace, viewable by appointment. Frits Scholten, Adriaen de Vries 1556-1626: Imperial Sculptor (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 1998).

[131] Lichtenstein Museum, *Samson and Delilah a Rubens Painting Returns*, (Milan: Skira, 2007), 29.

[132] All evidence supports the idea that nearly all of Christina's plasters, terracottas, and marbles were left in Sweden. The weight and small buyer pool for marbles, would make them untenable objects for long distance transport, particularly for someone traveling incognito for extended periods with a relatively small retinue and with no final destination secured.

Only a handful of sculptural items which could be considered antiquities or works after the antique were taken from Prague for the queen. In the aftermath of the Swedish sack of Prague, Hradčany, the city's castle district, was said to have been emptied. After the troops retreated with their booty, it was reported that the only items left in the castle were broken works of marble and plaster along with the empty frames of the paintings taken to Sweden.[134] It is impossible to know the type or condition of the marbles and plaster fragments mentioned in Prague castle. Nevertheless, this description speaks to both the fragility of the objects and, more importantly, their perceived material worth in direct relation to international shipping and acquisition.

Christina's successors in Sweden had little interest in the acquisition of antiquities and Leander Touati cites a coin cabinet, originally taken to Sweden from Prague by Christina, and re-acquired by Karl XI as the only other antiquities purchase known to have been made by Swedish royalty in the seventeenth century.[135] The cabinet was full of ancient coins and Renaissance medals. It was among the items shipped to the Netherlands by Christina ahead of her abdication. During her year of travel on her way to Rome, the queen was forced to pawn the cabinet and almost all of its contents in order to free up funds for her extended stay in the low countries and upcoming travel. After being put up as collateral for a loan in 1655, the cabinet remained with

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[133] We know that some of the antique objects that remained in Sweden were given to members of the nobility either shortly before or shortly after Christina's departure. These, along with portions of the library, may have been used as payment by Christina to settle debts before she left. The antique marble head of Commodus as Hercules, likely from Prague, now in Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities, was almost certainly part of Christina's Swedish collections before it passed to the Tessin family, eventually returning back to the royal display in the eighteenth century.

[134] "Där fanns, enligt en af de kejserliga då upprättad, icke stort annat kvar än några mer eller mindre sönderslanga gips- och marmorbilder och en mängd ramar, ur hvilka svenskarna borttagit målningarna." Granberg, *Kejsar Rudolf II:s Konstkammare*, 25.

[135] The purchase of the coin cabinet by Karl XI should not be taken as a specific interest on the part of the Swedish crown to collect antiquities but may indicate a desire on the part of the Swedish King to reclaim a fraction of the splendor of the country's golden age during a period when the lands won by Gustav Adolph had been largely forfeit. Leander Touati, A*ncient Sculptures in the Royal Museum*, 25.

Juan Nunez Henriques in Antwerp. For unknown reasons, the queen never reacquired it.[136] The queen clearly thought about which items from Prague she would keep, which she would gift to others, and what parts of her collections she could sell and re-build later. Her greater reliance on direct purchase as opposed to war booty in the acquisition of antique sculpture shows a similarly deliberate mode of thinking about objects with a plan for what type of collection she wanted and how it would represent her.

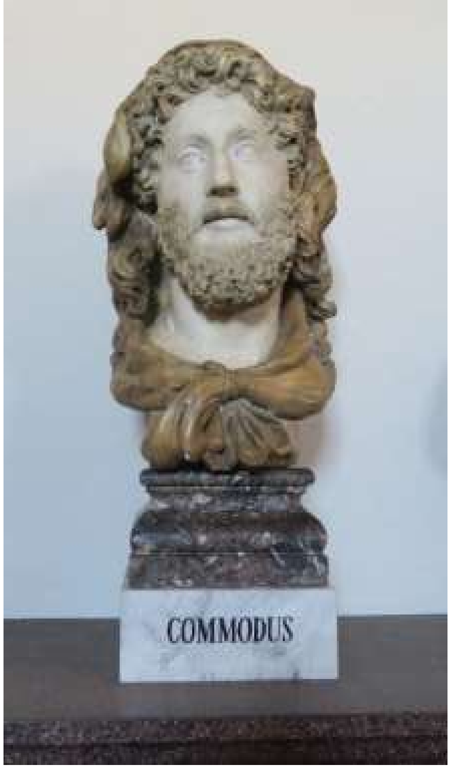

Figure 3: *Emperor Commodus as Hercules.*
Ancient, marble with alabaster and traces of gilding. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm NMSk 100. (Photo: Author)

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[136] Henriques was a relative of the banker Texeira who Christina stayed with in Hamburg. The two helped the queen financially throughout her years of travel post-abdication. Christina's close relationship to Texeira and her protection of Jews in Rome have been used as indications that the queen held a genuine belief in religious tolerance. Jonathan Irvine Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 138.

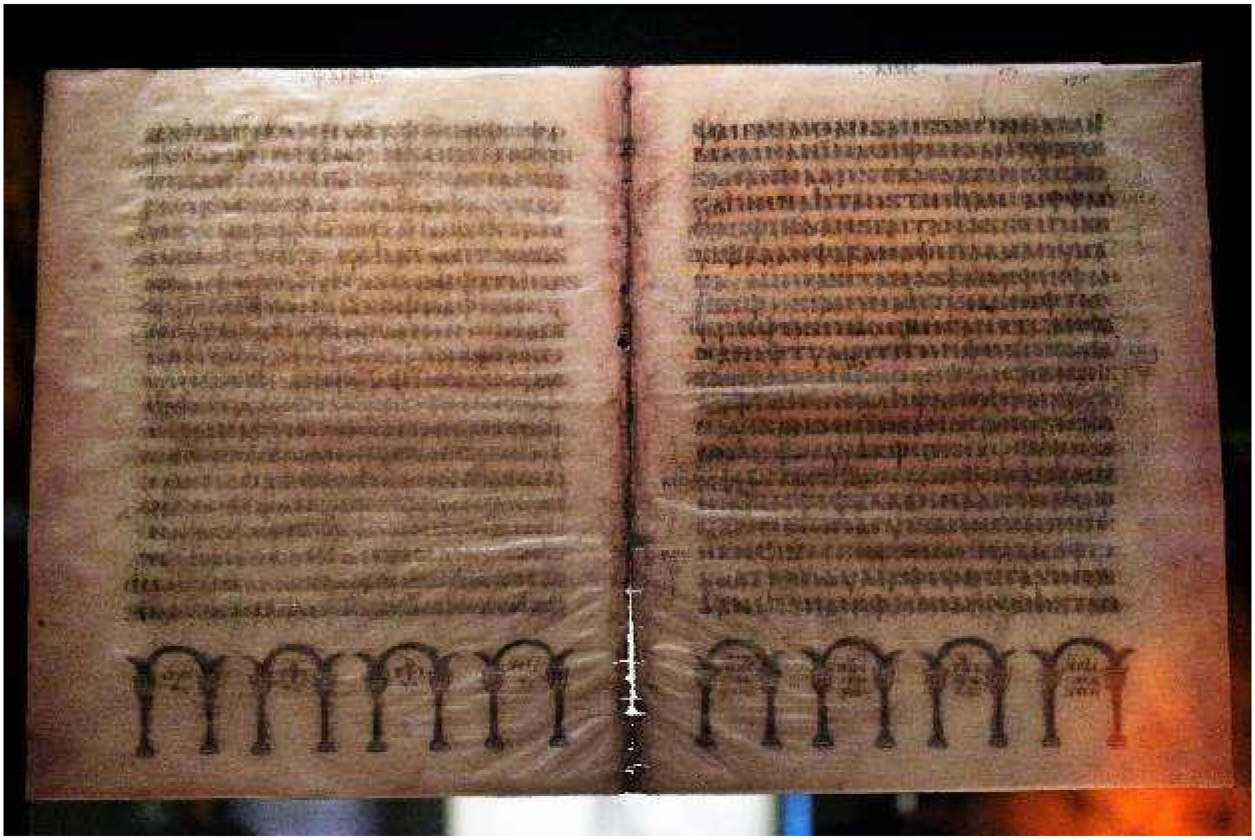

Figure 4: *Codex Argenteus*.
Early sixth century, purple parchment with gold and silver ink. Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala University Library, Uppsala, Sweden. (Photo: Author)

The Spoils of War

Although the sack of Prague represented a significant influx in the quantity and quality of artwork in Sweden, it was by no means the only war booty to travel north in the mid-1600s. Prior to its arrival, the royal collections had been enhanced through Gustav Adolph's conquests. The Augsburg Cabinet was a gift to Gustav Adolph following his troops' arrival outside of Augsburg and was a masterpiece of princely wealth and education (Fig.5).[137] Although gifted to Christina's father, it didn't arrive in Sweden until 1633, well after his death. It was stored at Svartsjö slott on the island of Färingsö in Lake Malaren until it was moved to the palace at Uppsala in the 1650s after Christina's coronation.[138] Following Gustav Adolph's death, Maria Eleonora and her retinue lived at Svartsjö Slott meaning that Christina visited often and spent several significant periods of time living at the Palace.

The small, interactive, and tactile nature of the Augsburg cabinet and its contents would have been a perfect introduction to a myriad of artistic, scientific, and natural ideas for the young queen. It was her first personal encounter with the culture of collecting and display popular throughout the rest of Europe. This early interaction with the German *Wunderkammer* may have been part of what drew Christina to build a diverse, historically and scientifically significant collection of objects as an adult. In the nineteenth century, notes from Christina's period in Sweden were found hidden under a drawer in the cabinet. They keep track of items that Christina took from it, but it is unknown if she kept them and whether or not she brought small items from the cabinet with her to Rome or if objects were separated from the cabinet at some later point.[139]

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[137] The term "gift" is used rather loosely here as the cabinet is typically discussed as a reparation for losses the Swedish crown took in not sacking the city, or in Swedish literature, a thank you gift for the generosity of Gustav Adolph leaving the city without taking further military action.

[138] This move was fortuitous since the palace burned down in 1687. There is some confusion in the literature regarding when the cabinet was moved to Uppsala but it seems reasonable to believe that Christina's interest in it was enough to have it moved to her secondary court residence. She spent a considerable amount of time at Uppsala with her court moving to Uppsala in November of 1653 after a disease outbreak in Stockholm. Elsa Lindberger, *Uppsala University Coin Cabinet: Anglo-Saxon and Later British Coins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2-3.

[139] Reinhold Geijer, ed. *Upsala Universitet 1872-1897* (Uppsala: Akademiska boktryckeriet, 1897), 34.

Included in the cabinet were over a thousand objects including artwork, small books, medical instruments, scientific objects, prints, *naturalia*, medals, gems, and curiosities, among which was a sizable collection of Roman coins. The cabinet was fragile, with thousands of individual pieces made of *intarsia, cloisonné, pietra dura*, ebony and ivory inlay, making it remarkable that it survived its trip to Sweden. Most of the objects in the case were sixteenth and seventeenth-century curiosities but small scale ancient sculpture was also included. The cabinet was meant to show a microcosm of the world around it. The Graeco-Roman tradition was represented by the ancient coins, likely bearing portraits of Roman emperors, and miniature cinquecento bronzes depicting sculptural fragments after the antique in the style of artists such as Antico.[140]

Some of the only Egyptian artifacts in Sweden in the 1650s came with the Augsburg Cabinet and included a mummified *Crocodilus niloticus* and a small faience funerary amulet in the shape of a mummy with identifying hieroglyphs engraved on its bound legs.[141] The funerary figurine has a blue-green glaze and is among the oldest objects in the cabinet, attributed to the 27-30th dynasties between 525 and 342 B.C.E. It is in good condition and would have provided an interesting point of comparison for the full-sized mummy, presumed to be of Egyptian origin, that was later acquired by Christina.[142] The full-size mummy came intact within a casket and appears in the 1552 Du Fresne inventory under the category "*Un Mélange de Diverses pieces*," listed as "*une mommie dans un armorre*." The entry is followed by "*Un grand autruche dans un armoire,"* and *"dito un grand oiseau dans une caisse*." These are among the only items in the inventory that are not provided a provenance.[143] The Augsburg cabinet remained at Uppsala after Christina's departure to Rome and is now a centerpiece of the collections of Uppsala University's Museum Gustavianum. Whether or not all of its original component parts, such as the ancient coins, remained with it after the queen's departure is much more difficult to assess.[144] It would certainly have been possible for the queen to have assimilated coins, medals and small

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[140] I refer here specifically to items such as a miniature bronze male torso from the cabinet which appears to be of a Doryphoros type but has not been identified with regards to its maker or model. Uppsala University, Museum Gustavianum, Inv. No. UUK236.

[141] Uppsala University, Museum Gustavianum, Inv. Nos. UUK250 and UUK564.

[142] The Medelhavsmuseet, Sweden's primary collection of Egyptian artifacts since the 1950s and inheritor of objects from both the National Museum and Royal Collections, lists a child's coffin that arrived in the late 1700s as one of the earliest mummies in Sweden. Research done on the mummy collection there indicates that the first Egyptian objects to come to Sweden arrived in the eighteenth-century. Aidan Dodson, *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: The Medelhavsmuseet Collection*. Stockholm: Världskulturmuseerna Medelhavet Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, 2015, 4. As seen in the case of the faience figurine and crocodile in the Augsburg Cabinet, this

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is not entirely true, however; whether or not Christina's inventories were taken into account by Dodson in the museum's survey of Egyptian coffins is unclear and, depending on whether or not her mummy was Egyptian and whether the "armoire" it was in was original to the body, it may still hold some truth. I have been unable to locate records at the Swedish Nationalmuseum or the Medelhavsmuseet that indicate receipt of such an object from Christina's period. I have not found mention of a mummy in Sweden between 1652 and the mid-eighteenth-century although the topic would benefit from further study. It may remain unknown what happened to Christina's mummy. It is possible that it burned in the fire at the Tre Kronor. The next Swedish royal to have a serious interest in antiquities was Queen Lovisa Ulrika (b.1720 –1782). In her collections at Drottningholm, Lovisa owned a *wunderkammer* with a large collection of *naturalia* that included several Egyptian antiques, including a mummy. It may be possible that this is the same mummy owned in the previous century by Christina, but further archival work is needed to back up such an assertion. It would be interesting to note whether Christina's ostrich, bird of prey, and dragon appear again in Lovisa's inventories at Drottningholm. Such an observation could indicate the inheritance of Christina's curiosities by her successors in Sweden. Medelhavsmuseet, *Medelhavsmuseet: en introduction* (Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, 1982), 4.

[143] These translate as "a mixture of various pieces," "a mummy in an armoire," "a large ostrich in a wardrobe," and "another large bird in a crate." Records from Prague indicate that Rudolph's Kunstkammer held natural curiosities such as a unicorn horn and a mummy and most references to Christina's mummy are passing notes which mention the mummy along with as items such as three-legged chickens, unicorn horns, and a basilisk. These items, listed in the Prague inventory do not all appear in the du Fresne inventory making it difficult to know whether Christina's mummy came from Rudolph's collection as has been assumed. The listing of her mummy in the du Fresne inventory, along with items such as the ostrich, portraits, and a dragon indicate that, no matter its provenance, the mummy was considered a natural curiosity first and an "antique" second. Christina's collection and interest in natural curiosities has received some work from scholars interested in her alchemical pursuits and is a promising area for further research. For a brief entry on the topic see: Svenska Linné-sällskapet, *Årsskrift vol. 42-55* (Almqvist & Wiksells: 1959/60), 55.

[144] I am gratful to numismatic scholar Ylva Hadenthaler for her discussions with me on this topic. She has suggested to me that a project to map the acquisition history of current holdings in the Uppsala University coin cabinet could yield additional information about the ancient coins that were once part of the cabinet's collection although such an undertaking has yet to be attempted. Through the mid-seventeenth-century, the Augsburg cabinet had its own personal assistant who accompanied it from Germany to Sweden, serving as a living index and managing the display of the cabinet's curiosities. For a virtual tour of the cabinet and some of its contents see the link on the page: Gustavianum, "Augsburg Art Cabinet Online" http://gustavianum.uu.se/art-collection/exhibitions/the-augsburg-art-cabinet (accessed February, 2016).

works of art from the Augsburg cabinet into her impressive cabinets of modern and antique coins and medals.

Primarily due to their material value and ease of transport, items from numismatic cabinets were particularly attractive and easy items to separate from their larger collections and are difficult to trace due to their reproductive nature. Unfortunately for rulers such as Christina this also meant that medals, particularly gold ones, were often missing by the time collections taken as war booty reached their intended royal recipients.[145] Many of the items listed in the du Fresne inventory note their provenance from Prague. Also listed are entries for objects taken from Munich and Wurzburg during the conquests of Gustav Adolph.[146] In total, the 1652 inventory lists four pages of medals totaling 30,244 items in that category. Of those, 305 are gold, 12,684 are silver and 17,255 are bronze, iron, lead, or bronze alloy; other materials are not noted.[147] The accounting includes 1584 medals along with cabinets that reached Christina from the looting of the Gemäldegallerie and Münzkabinett by Swedish troops in Munich in 1632.[148] A letter from May of 1635 notes that most of the medals were ancient but further details are not provided.[149]

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[145] In his article on Christina's medal collections, Hugo Gaebler argues as much, suggesting that coins which should have ended up in the queen's collections missing at the time of the du Fresne inventory were either used by the cash-strapped queen for gifts or lost. "Freilich die goldenen, welche Ogier sah, fehlen im J. 1652; sie waren entweder von der freigebigen Königin verschenkt oder von ihrer ungetreuen Umgebung bei Seite geschafft worden." At one point 2700 medals were associated with a cabinet, featuring the city of Munich on it, but only 1584 pieces known to be from Munich are listed in the 1652 inventory of Christina's numismatic collection. Gaebler, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina…," 27.

[147] du Fresne "*Les Medalies*" fol. 10v-12r.

[148] du Fresne inventory, French version fol.10v., 11r.

[149] Gaebler, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina," 27-29.

Inventories note the size and subject of a handful of Christina's medals but do not list ancient coins separately. The summary of the collections looted from Munich and Prague provided by du Fresne likely includes antique coins in the category of "*les medailles*." This supposition can be confirmed by accounts of the cabinet pawned by Christina in 1655 to fund her extended stay in the Netherlands. Originally from Prague, the cabinet was described in documents of its sale and subsequent purchase as containing Roman coins. No cabinet elsewhere in du Fresne's inventory would account for such a collection. It can, therefore, be assumed that the cabinet of antique coins with the seal of Rudolph II on it that was relinquished by the queen in pawn on the way to Rome was included in the du Fresne inventory's list of medals.[150] In his brief study of Christina's interest in antiquities, Christian Callmer has suggested that the majority of the objects listed in the queen's cabinets, identified only by their quantity and metallic content in the 1652 inventory, were ancient coins.[151]

Inventories such as the later 1682 inventory of the Palazzo Riario do make a distinction between ancient and modern works for some objects. While this is of some use, fluid and more subjective Early Modern concepts of antiquity and originality, as well as the baroque fashion for pastiches and heavy-handed plaster interventions on ancient fragments, mean that such entries should still be handled with caution, a topic which will be addressed in the following chapter. Many of the marbles that can be verified as antique appear to have come into the queen's possession through means other than military conquest. Whether such objects were purchases by Christina's agents in their travels across Europe or were gifts from advisors and diplomats, such objects might be considered to speak more directly to her personal tastes and interests than the more opportunistic acquisitions made en-masse through military conquest.

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[150] The claim that the contents of the cabinet were mostly antique likely comes from accountings of its contents after its re-acquisition by Carl IX. The antiquity of the coins in the cabinet is noted by Brenner. Elias Brenner, *Thesaurus nummorum sveo-Gothicorum vetustus* (Stockholm, 1731), 251.

[151] Callmer, *Drottning Kristinas samlingar av antik konst,* 14.

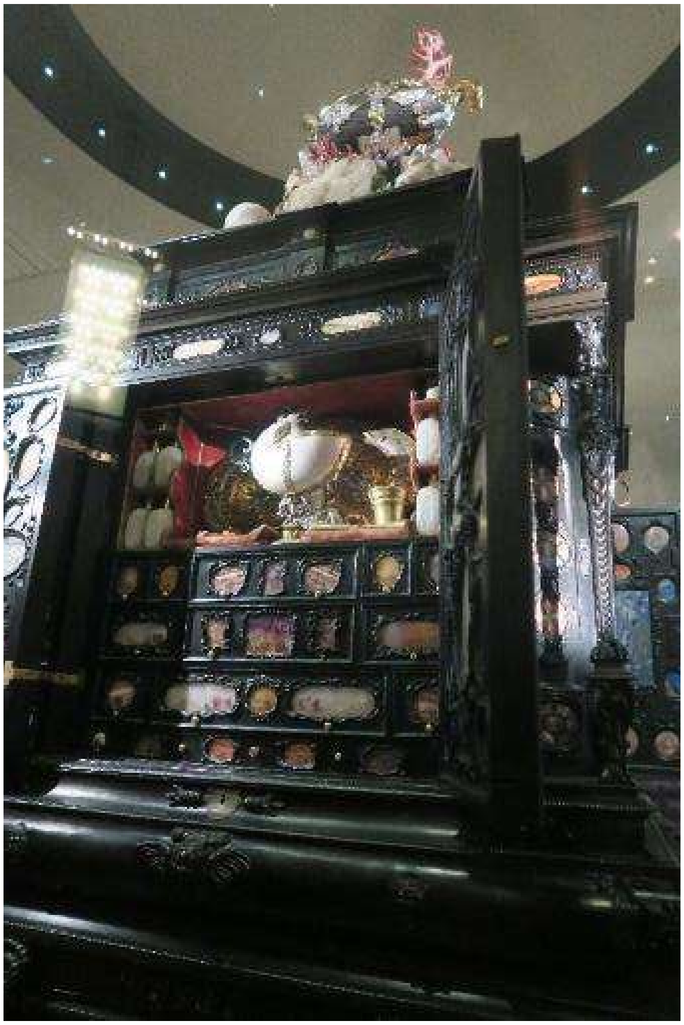

Figure 5: *Augsburg Cabinet.*
Early-seventeenth-century cabinet with about 1000 antique to seventeenth-century contents, mixed materials. Gustavianum, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden (Photo: Author)

Chapter Two
Purchases and Gifts at Apollo's Swedish Court

Agents and Acquisitions

The Swedish royal summer palace of Drottningholm is not heavily adorned with sculpture. It sits facing Lake Malaren with expansive gardens and outbuildings created from the late seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. The residence was designed by Nicodemus Tessin the Elder and his son and is still occupied part of the year by the Swedish royal family. It was Hedwig Eleonora, the wife of Christina's successor, who was responsible for the seventeenth-century building projects at the palace but Christina's legacy is visible in much of the palaces exterior sculptural decoration. When standing in the gardens looking back on the palace, the De Vries bronzes brought to Sweden from Prague under Christina, initially catch the eye (Fig.6).

Moving past the bronzes and looking closer at the sparingly decorated garden façade, three sets of sculptural decoration can be identified. On each of the two slightly projecting two-story wings of the garden façade, the lower central windows are crowned by pediments on which rest reclining figures whose twisting repose is reminiscent of Michelangelo's figures in the New Sacristy at San Lorenzo. Three central portals are defined by pilasters which support a shallow decorative entablature. Above this, the central window on the façade is flanked by niches, containing two white marble sculptures which are antique in appearance (Fig.7).

The statue in the left niche is a Hercules which, upon close inspection, is comprised of an antique torso with extensive seventeenth-century restorations (see Fig.1). Its pendant statue is typically referred to as an Ephebe. Both sculptures have been replaced with plaster replicas; the originals are housed in the collections of the Nationalmuseum. The Ephebe's neck was made in an elongated manner which appears much better suited to its placement high on the façade than the Hercules, of the Farnese type, reclining on his club within the niche. A print by Willem Swidde of the garden façade, produced between 1660 and 1697 for Eric Dahlberg's *Suecia antiqua et hodierna,* records the sculptures already installed in their niches on the palace (Fig.8).[152] There are no records of Hedwig Eleonora or Tessin purchasing antique sculpture for the decoration of the palace, meaning that the Hercules was likely among the antiquities purchased for Christina, but left in Sweden by the queen. Its survived thanks to its move to Drottningholm ahead of the fire at the Tre Kronor and the somewhat protective environment of its niche on the palace's rear elevation.[153]

While the vast majority of Christina's paintings came from Prague, much of the rest of her collection, and the majority of her marbles, came from purchases by her agents and gifts. [154] Christina had collectors at her disposal, employing international scholars and artists who pursued objects on her behalf. This diverse network of men was ultimately responsible for the development of her antiquarian library and the impressive collection of objects that signaled her learning and taste. Nicolaas Heinsius, Isaac Vossius, Michael le Blon, Mathius Palbitzki, Jeremias Falk, Spiering Silvercroon, and the Swedish commissioner in Amsterdam, Harald Appelbom, were all intimately involved in the purchase of art and antiquities for Christina and an enormous quantity of correspondences and travel notes between these men, their associates, and Queen Christina has survived to the present.[155] The following accounts of their purchases is by no means exhaustive, but in surveying a handful of letters and inventories drawn up by these individuals it is possible to develop a snapshot of the queen's reach, ambition, and limitations as both a ruler and a collector.

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[152] The engraving shows a complementary but shorter set of niches on the lower story directly below the Hercules and the Ephebe. Both those niches and a series of similarly sized niches built into the garden wall flanking the staircase are empty and were similarly unfilled in the Swidde print. It is possible that they were intended to remain empty, although with so many antique busts available to Tessin, the possibility remains that they were intended to be filled with items soon lost in the fire at the Tre Kronor. This suggestion is supported by the many similarities noted in the layouts of the Drottningholm gardens and those of Vaux-le-Vicomte. A simplified version of the French palace's garden façade is echoed in the reclining figures on the pediments crowning Vaux-le-Vicomte's central portal and Drottningholm's windows. The repetition of decorative busts across the façade that appear at Vaux-le-Vicomte would have been echoed cleanly in their incorporation into the niches of the Swedish palace. While the 73 marble busts brought to Sweden by le Blon were set up in the Library, the 43 busts purchased by Silvercroon that remained unpacked and unmounted in 1652 cannot be accounted for in another documented display.

[153] For more on the survival of the Hercules and its possible inclusion in Christina's early collection see: Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum,* 23-24; Wollin, *The Marbles in the Royal Park of Drottningholm,* 44-45. Hercules is now known as NMSk 32.

[154] These purchases are traceable in part due to the large volume of surviving correspondence but owing to her travel and the destruction of the remaining collections in the palace fire, it is impossible to recreate her early collections in their entirety. Similarly, a complete picture of how she intended to display and curate the objects she collected in such a rapid manner between 1644 and 1654 will likely remain largely unknown.

It was through Heinsius and Vossius that Christina acquired a significant number of her books, medals and antique coins.[156] Heinsius' personal library was one of Europe's premier collections of books and manuscripts relating to the study of antiquity and his purchases for Christina appear to have been similarly focused.[157] A significant body of correspondence between Heinsius and his contacts throughout Europe is testament to his influence and the reach of his acquisition networks. Several of his letters to Christina outline in some detail his search for sculptures, manuscripts, books, coins and medals on the queen's behalf.[158]

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[155] It is a volume of archival material far beyond the scope of the present project. More exhaustive analysis of the relationship between Christina, objects, and her agents is needed.

[156] For Christina's collection of medals and antique coins see: Gaebler, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina…," 374-75. On Vossius' relationship with Christina see: F.F. Blok, *Isaac Vossius and His Circle*: *His Life Until His Farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden 1618-1655*, trans. Cis van Heertum, (Groningen: E. Forsten 2000).

[157] Walsby and Constantinidou, *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*, 144.

On a collecting trip through Italy in 1652, Heinsius writes to Christina about a series of prospective purchases and regales the queen with an account of his efforts to seek out the best objects and persuade their owners to part with them. In a letter that June, Heinsius writes that he has made contacts in Modena, Treviso, and Bologna in his pursuit of coins, sculptures, and Greek manuscripts. He concludes by saying that objects in the Italian states will come at a better price than if he were to attempt to make purchases for the queen in Rome.[159] Christina's replies to his letters are, unfortunately, lost as are the end results of these purchase inquiries. Nevertheless, it is interesting to consider whether, in reading Heinsius' descriptions of the collections in northern and central Italy, Christina imagined that she would be received as a Catholic queen in those places only three years later.

Our records of the queen's acquisitions are extensive and relatively well documented but it is difficult to pin down what objects eventually joined her Swedish collections and which purchases were only discussed in letters but fell through or were amended later. For example, it is possible that Christina made or attempted to make a purchase of objects including ancient coins from the sale following the death of Charles I in 1649. In his history text of 1707 Edward Hyde, the first Earl of Clarendon, reports "Christina, Queen of Sweden, purchased the choice of all the Medals, and Jewels, and some pictures of a great price."[160] The objects purchased are not

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[158] The letters between Heinsius and the queen were written in Latin and have not yet been published in translation. They are reproduced in: Burman ed., *Sylloge epistolarum* V, 742ff. Nos 656, 658–64, 666–8, 680, 681. This text is available online through Mannheim University. Universität Mannheim, *"Christinae Reginae et Nicolai Hensii Epistolae Mutuae*," https://www2.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/cera/autoren/burman_cera.html (accessed February, 2016).

[159] Ibid.

[160] Edward Hyde of Clarendon. *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* in *England v.III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1707), 264;* Hugo Gaebler, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina…," 374-75.

traceable in later inventories, which in most cases are not sufficient to attribute works with certainty.[161]

The details of Christina's plans to decorate the palace of the Tre Kronor and other royal residences are similarly difficult to reconstruct. The Tre Kronor was an urban palace on the site of todays' Swedish Royal Palace on Gamla Stan, the island of the Stockholm old town. It abutted the water on two sides and was surrounded by other structures, which made sweeping renovations or the insertion of large gardens difficult if not impossible without tearing into the fabric of the small city. In an engraving from the 1670s, before the palace's destruction, its placement on the harbor can be seen on the left side of the image with the Baltic sea on the left side of the palace and the waters of lake Malaren on its right (Fig.9).

As objects arrived in Sweden throughout the latter half of the 1640s and early 1650s, it does not appear that an immediate plan for how and where to display them was developed.[162] Following the siege of Prague, the queen had over ten months to anticipate the arrival of the war booty in Stockholm. Plans drawn up by Tessin the Elder around the time of the arrival of the Prague booty in Stockholm in 1649 indicate that Christina initially intended to build a new wing of the Royal Palace. Beyond a sketch of the extension, preserved today in the Nationalmuseum, nothing came of the initiative (Fig.10).

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[161] In a footnote, Gaebler mentions that all later research on that particular reported sale to Christina traces to Clarendon's quote in his *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars* in *England.* To my knowledge, no one has attempted to further explore the known medals from Christina's Roman collection and a possible connection to the collections of Charles I. Gaebler, "Die Münzsammlung der Königin Christina von Schweden, 374, n.3.

[162] Of particular interest are the 116 marbles, 69 bronzes, hundreds of gems, 660 works of agate and crystal, 179 ivories and several thousand medals listed in Christina's collections by the early 1650s. These are, for the most part, exacting numbers but the individual objects have only vague descriptions. Many of these items have no defining characteristics other than notes that they are large, small, of good quality or a provenance. Objects and curiosities mentioned in the inventory are briefly discussed as related objects in a footnote by Granberg but a great deal more remains to be written about them. Granberg, *Kejsar Rudolf II:s Konstkammare,* 27.

The renovations proposed for the Tre Kronor would have provided space for her new acquisitions. Coupled with plans for a royal pleasure garden drawn up by her architect Jean de la Valleé and her gardener André Mollet, they would have brought the old building up to the standards expected by the increasing numbers of foreign guests attracted to the court.[163] As seen in Mollet's designs published in his 1651 *Le Jardin de Plaisir,* dedicated to Christina, as well as his completed garden projects, the unrealized plans for the Tre Kronor would have involved the purchase of a significant number of sculptures and Roman plaster casts. The garden plan was similar to those completed nearby at Drottningholm which contained a mixture of bronzes and plaster copies of antique sculptures spaced strategically in the center of manicured, symmetrical, hedge rows. It does not appear that the project at the Tre Kronor ever materialized to the point that such an acquisition of marble was made.[164]

Plaster casts after the antique by artists such as Primaticcio gained immense popularity across Europe in the sixteenth century. It is commonly held that plaster copies of Roman marbles did not come to Sweden until Tessin the Younger purchased a large group from Paris for King Karl XI (1655-97) in 1695.[165] That should not be taken as an indication that the queen and her court were ignorant of Italy's most famous marbles. Christina did own a set of two large plaster figural sculptures, gifts from her royal engraver Jeremias Falck between 1649 and 1652.[166] There were many practical and artistic reasons for the creation of plasters in the Early Modern period. One of the most common applications of such objects north of the Alps was their appearance as stand-ins for marbles or bronzes, to be displayed in noble and royal collections.[167] Given the du Fresne inventory's inclusion of the two plaster figures in the section on marbles, it seems likely that the statues were made as free-standing sculptures after antique or after famous Renaissance marbles.[168]

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[163] Like Tessin's initial plans for the palace, Mollet's plans were never acted upon by Christina but were later employed in designs for royal residences such as Jacobsdahl and Drottningholm. Göran Lindahl. "The Swedish Pleasure Garden…," 167-69.

[164] Ibid, 169, fig.1; Andre Mollet, *Le Jardin de Plaisir,* Gyllene Snittet ed. (Uppsala: *Elina Antell,* 2006).

[165] These casts were used by the newly established *Konstakademin* or, Academy of Fine Arts which opened in 1780 and still remain in the collections, on display throughout the main building on Jakobsgatan. Olausson Söderlind "Nationalmuseum/ Royal Museum Stockholm: Connecting North and South," in *The First Modern Museums of Art: The Birth of an Institution in 18th and early 19th Century Europe*, Carole Paul (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 192.

In addition to the plaster casts, Christina owned a set of wax models after the antique. At the end of du Fresne's inventory, a different hand notes a supplementary list with five entries described simply as "*Autres choses da Cabinet de S.M..*" It is signed "from Stockholm, 24th September 1653 du Fresne." The fourth line on the list describes the set of wax models as a Laocoön, a Venus de Medici, Marcus Aurelius, and a Gladiator.[169] Between these small and large scale sculptural replicas and a large collection of prints and drawings by Hendrick Goltzius and Italian masters, it is clear that Christina's education in Roman marbles began long before she reached Rome and was not reliant solely on the quality or variety of marbles exported to Stockholm.

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[166] The plaster casts are listed in the du Fresne inventory as "Deux grandes figures de plaster que ont che donne a la Royne le Sieur Falk." It can't be confirmed that the plasters purchased by Falk were of antique subjects but, given the queen's taste, this seems a likely guess. Falk was from a Polish Lithuanian province and came to Sweden in 1649 to work for Christina. From this information, it is reasonable to conclude that these works likely came to Sweden between the time of his arrival at the court and the creation of the inventory, possibly as a gift for her coronation in 1650. Du Fresne, *Inventaire*, fol. 9r.

[167] Walter Cupperi, "'*Giving away the moulds will cause no damage* to his Majesty's casts'– New Documents on the Vienna Jüngling and the Sixteenth-Century Dissemination of Casts after the Antique in the Holy Roman Empire," in *Plaster Casts*: *Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present (Transformationen Der Antike)* Rune Frederiksen, Eckart Marchand eds. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 81-86.

[168] This assumption seems reasonable given our knowledge of the queen's taste. By the seventeenth- century large-scale garden sculptures were common throughout Europe but do not seem to have made much of an impact in Scandinavia before 1650. The lack of a pleasure garden at the Tre Kronor would also indicate that these plasters were intended to complement Christina's sculpture collection, not strictly for use as artists models, garden art or architectural decoration. For further discussion of plasters in Scandinavia see: Jan Zahle "*Laocoön in Scandinavia – Uses* and *Workshops* 1587 onwards," in *Plaster Casts*: *Making, Collecting and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present (Transformationen Der Antike)* Rune Frederiksen, Eckart Marchand eds. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 143-162.

[169] Du Fresne, *Inventaire,* fol. 126v.

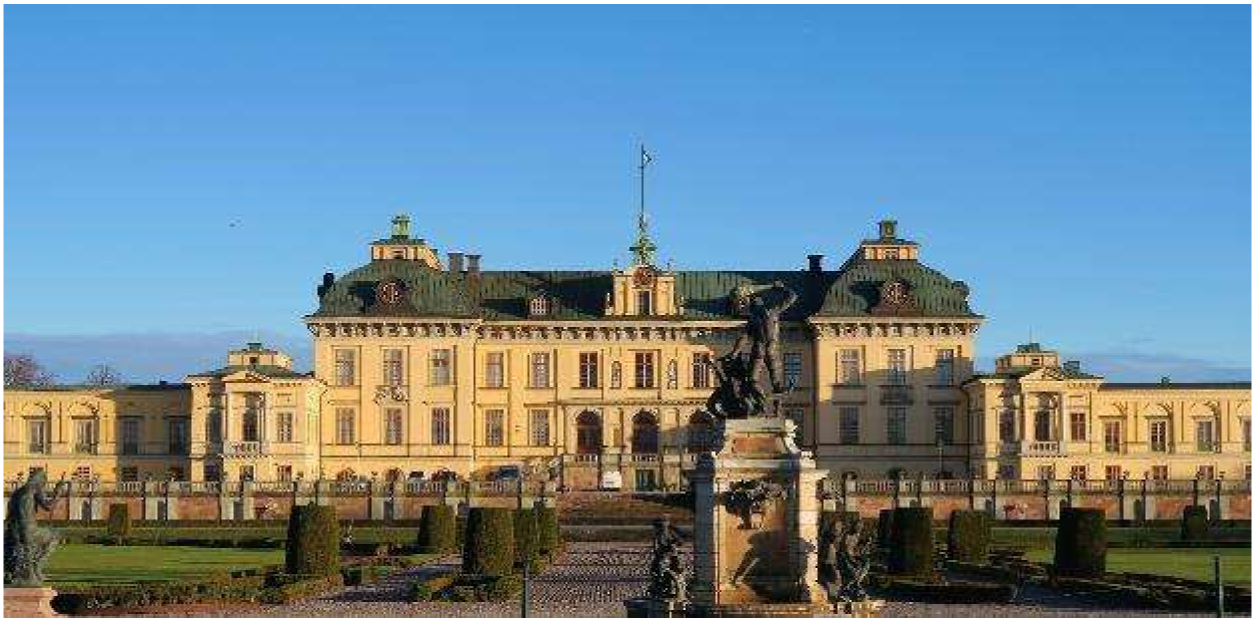

Figure 6: *Drottningholm Palace-Garden Façade.*
Nicodemus Tessin the Elder and Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Begun 1662.
Stockholm, Sweden. (Photo: Author)

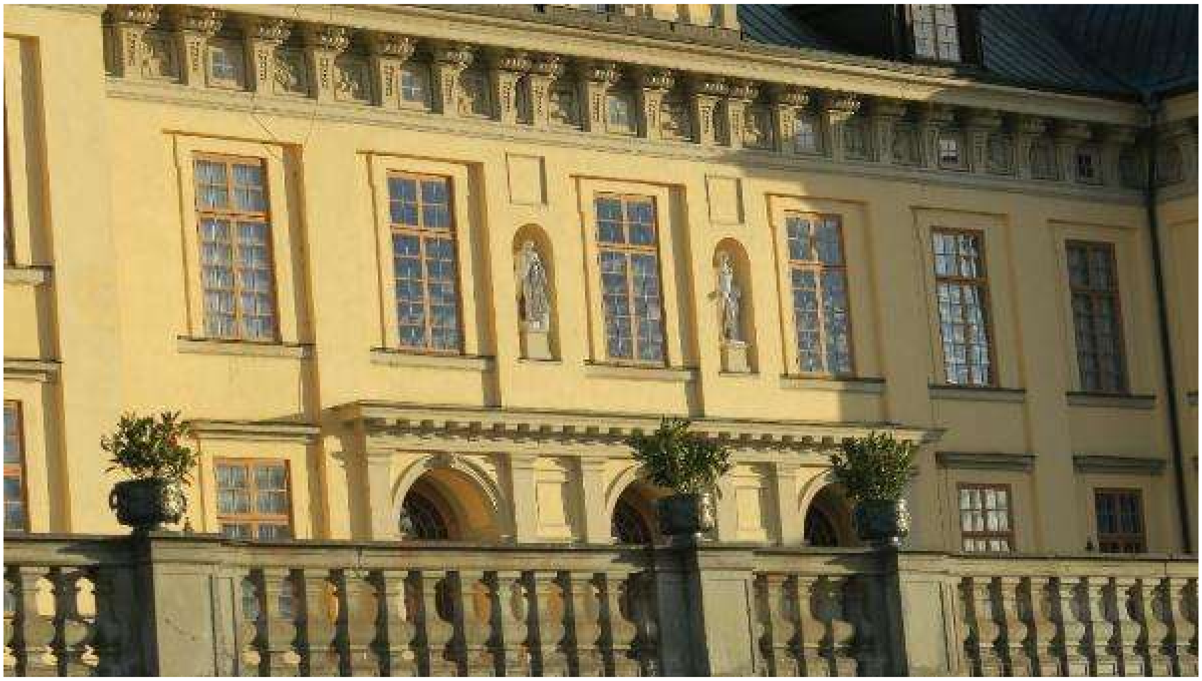

Figure 7: *Drottningholm Palace-Garden Façade detail with Hercules and Ephebe*. Nicodemus Tessin the Elder and Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Begun 1662. Stockholm, Sweden. (Photo: Author)

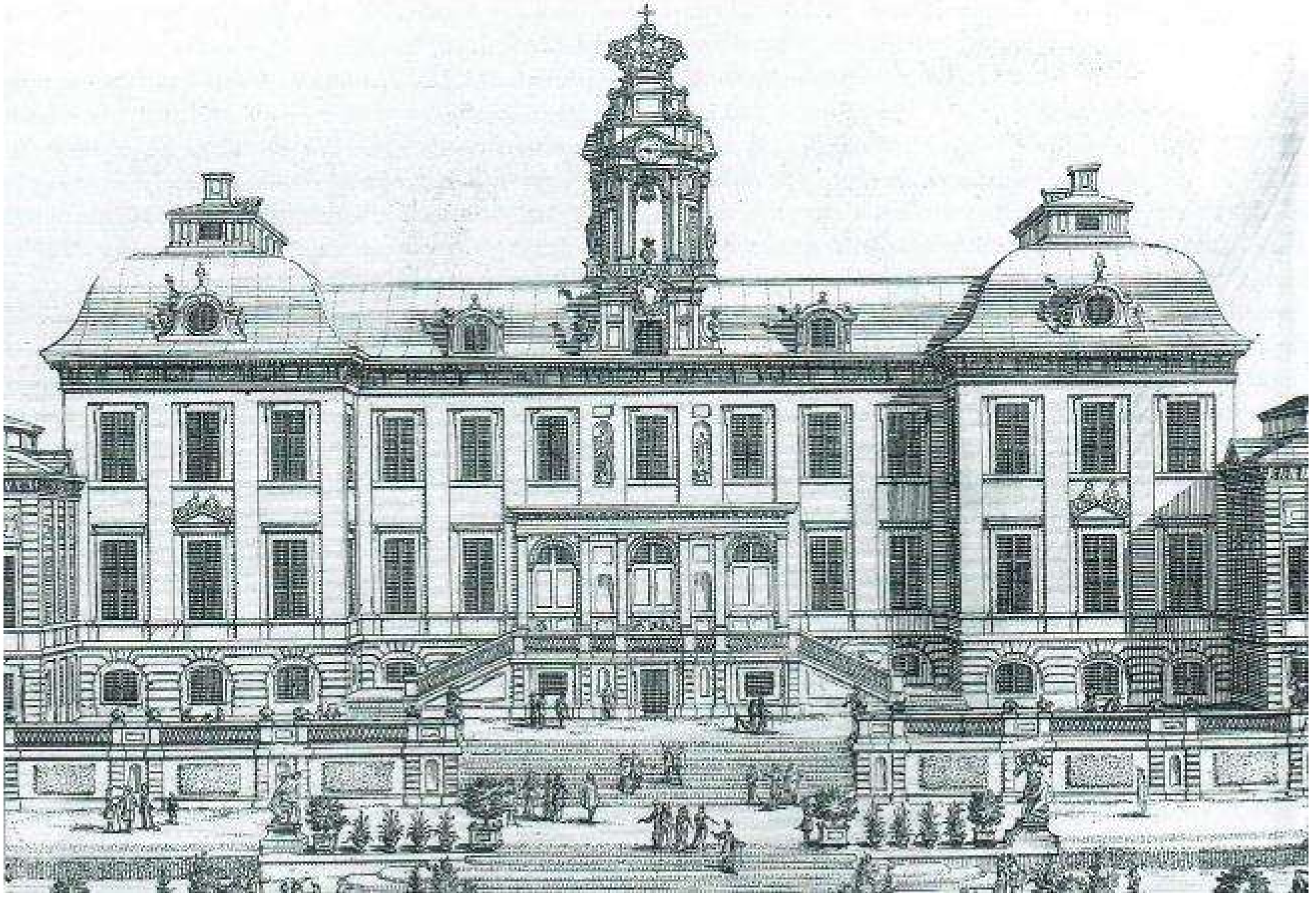

Figure 8: *Drottningholm Garden Façade, Detail* from *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna.*
Erik Dahlbergh and Willem Swidde. 1660-1697, engraving. Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden. (Photo: National Library of Sweden, Suecia antiqua et hodierna – ett digitalet project, https://suecia.kb.se/F/?func=find-b&local_base=sah)

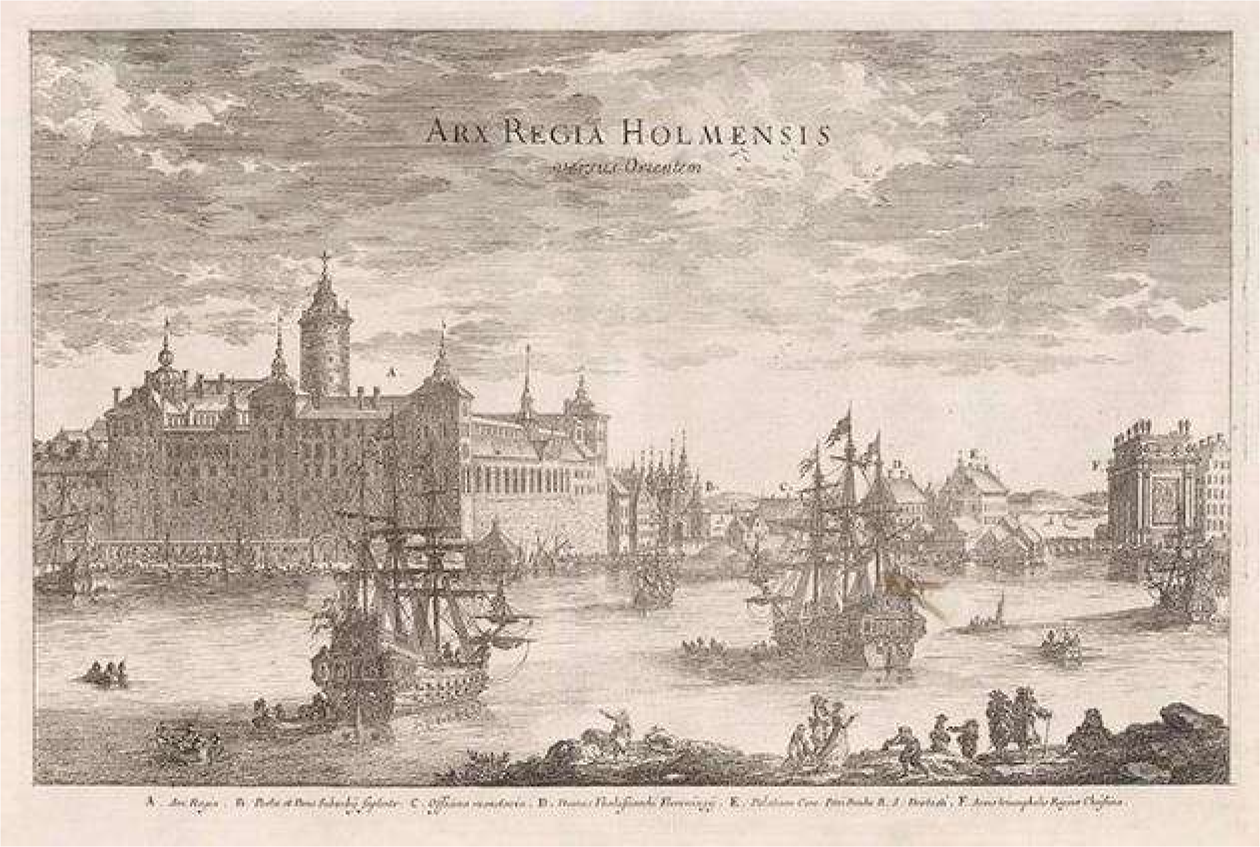

Figure 9: *Stockholm Harbor and the Tre Kronor Palace* from *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna.* Erik Dahlbergh and Willem Swidde. 1670s, engraving. Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden (Photo: National Library of Sweden, Suecia antiqua et hodierna – ett digitalet project)

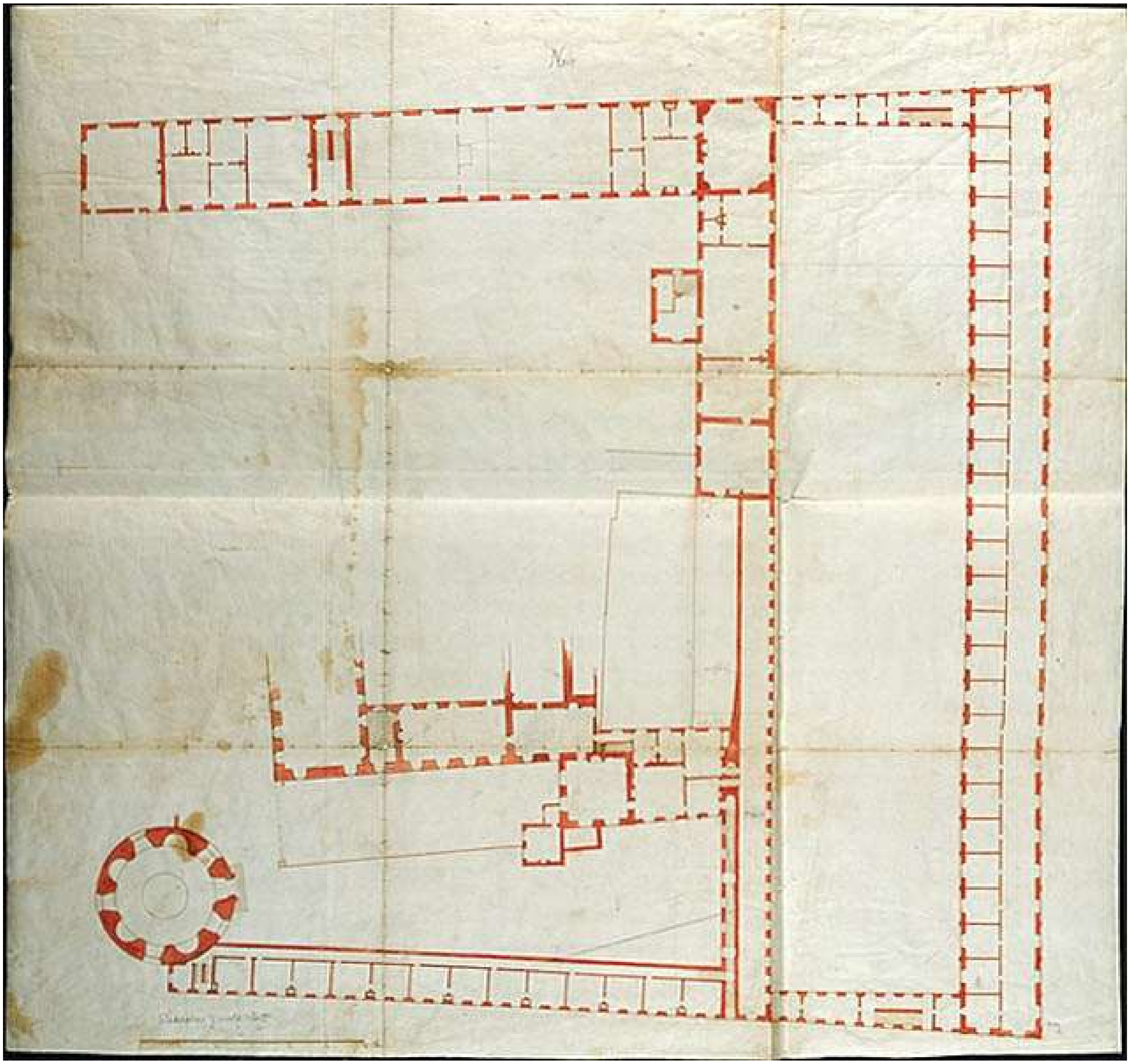

Figure 10: *Rebuilding Project for the Royal Castle (Tre Kronor) in Stockholm, Plan.* Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. Ca. 1649, pen and paper.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, NMH THC 1539
(Photo: Cecilia Heisser / Nationalmuseum Stockholm)

Christina's Early Attempts to Purchase Antiquities in Italy

Serious attempts to build an antiquities collection in Sweden had already begun in 1645, when the queen's agent, Mathius Palbitzki, was sent on a four-year acquisition journey around the Mediterranean. Palbitzki, who came to Christina's court from Pomerania in 1642, was dutiful in his documentation of the travels. He sent frequent reports to the queen in reference to his attempts at acquisitions and kept a diary of his trip.[170] Palbitzki also recorded his travel through a series of small paintings and drawings, seventeen of which are now in the collection of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.[171] They feature landscapes, city views, ruins, and palaces in locations such as Rome, Syracuse and Alexandria. Several of the works on paper produced in pen, ink, and watercolor, were hung in Christina's bed chamber along with a medium-sized painting of Rome and several portraits by Palbitzki noted in other sections of the inventory.[172]

Palbitzki lived for several years in Rome, making connections with artists, antiquarians and sellers.[173] Throughout his travel he worked to secure the purchase of books, paintings and sculptures for the queen. In Rome he wrote to her several times requesting funds for the purchases he had orchestrated.[174] No documentation has survived that indicates Palbitzki's antiquities were sent to Christina during his travels from 1645-48. This was likely due in part to regulations in Rome which prohibited the movement of such objects outside the city, coupled with a lack of money to complete the purchases.[175]

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[170] The Nationalmuseum in Stockholm holds seventeen works on paper in pen, ink, and watercolor produced by Palbitzki on his travels. These were most likely produced on his initial four-year sojourn around the Mediterranean.

[171] Several of these paintings are noted as part of the queen Christina's Swedish collections and are listed in the du Fresne inventory by artist and medium.

[172] "*5 petits tableaux avec des prouinices et des vieux edefices sur un fonds de toile que Sr. Paulpeski a fair peindre a Rome… tableaux de moyenne grandeur et avec chassis. De Sr Paulpeski: Dito, des paisages et èdifices que Sr Paulpeski a fait faire a Rome…Deux portraits d'un homme et d'une femme que le sieur Paulpeski a fait faire a Rome.*" The objects mentioned are mentioned in the portion of the inventory reproduced by Granberg: Granberg: *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri,* XXIX no. 75, XLVII no. 512, XLVIII, no. 530.

[173] Although it seems that most of the objects Palbitzki intended to purchase were not sent to Sweden, his trip was a success as he established connections with artists, agents and collectors throughout the Italian peninsula. It was through Palbitzki that the medalist Erich Praise and the sculptors from Rome Nicolas Cordier and Giuseppe Peroni came to Christina's court in Stockholm. Karl Erik Steneberg, "Le Blon, Quellinus, Millich and The Swedish Court 'Parnassus'" in *Queen Christina of Sweden Documents and Studies,* Magnus von Platen ed. (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 344.

On a return trip to Italy in 1649, usually framed as a diplomatic mission, Palbitzki was again active as a purchasing agent for Christina, writing to her with details of his movements, his visits to collections, the antique and modern works he secured for her in each city, who could restore antique objects, the cost of collections she might be interested in purchasing, and the qualifications of his associates. Where possible, Palbitzki provides exact amounts needed, but only after he can vouch for their quality and honestly report on which items were over- or under-valued, priming his correspondent for the requests of funds. On the 28th of April 1649, he wrote that he was already involved with local dealers in looking for medals, jewels, intaglios, and antique statues. He tells Christina that if he receives funding for the purchases from her, he will be able to accomplish more with it than he initially thought possible.[176]

A month later, another letter outlines a potential purchase of a group of antique sculptures which include an Apollo Vesta, a Euridice, a Ceres, a Bacchus, and a faun that his associate Vellté will restore to their former glory.[177] Palbitzki mentions that he has already secured licenses to ship the pieces from Florence to Livorno along with a group of sculpture acquired in Rome. He enlisted the help of Antonio Novelli, a mathematician, sculptor, and architect working in Livorno, to prepare sculptures of an Apollo, an Antinous, and a Venus of a Greek type which are described as having been purchased in Rome.[178] Some of these sculpture types appear again in a documents titled, *Listes des statues et bustes que Monsieur Palbitzki a achept*ée *a Rome pour sa Majesté,* where a sculpture of Antinous as well as a seated Venus holding Paris's apple are included with heads of Cleopatra and Cicero.

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[174] Letters from Palbitzki to Christina are in the collection of the Royal Archives in Stockholm.

[175] Letter from Palbitzki to Christina, Rome 28 April 1649, Stockholm Riksarkivet. The letters are mentioned in: Nationalmuseum, *Christina of Sweden Documents and Studies,* 418, 426-27.

[176] Palbitzki, *Listes des statues et bstes que Monsieur Palbitzki a acheptée a Rome pour sa Majesté,* Kungliga Biblioteket, D. 678. Leijoncrona J. fol. 194. This list is reprinted in Olof Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas historia från Gustav Vasas tid till våra dagar* (Stockohlm: G. Lindströms boktryckeri, 1929) I, 73.

As part of a separate purchase that appears on the same list of items sent from Rome, sculptures of Venus, a Muse, Hercules, Septimus Geta, and a Diana are included along with heads of Pompy and Faustina. It seems reasonable to assume that the Antinous and seated Venus are the sculptures of the same subject mentioned in the May letter and that they belonged to the final group of sculptures selected for shipment to Sweden following Novelli's interventions. There is no indication of what happened to the Apollo from Rome or the pieces sent from Florence that were mentioned in the May letter. It is possible that the permissions for those objects prevented their movement from those cities.[179]

In the May letter, Palbitzki suggests that the queen purchase a personification of mortality of Novelli's own creation, a work that he ensures the queen is so fine that "*elle merite d'être arrangée parmi les antiques*." However, no work matching that description appears in the list of

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[177] Palbitzki, "Envoyéen M. Palbitzkis Bref till Kongl. Majt 1649," Riksarkivet, Italica: 2.

[178] This was most probably a copy of the Apollo Belvedere or an ancient statue of the same type. Palbitzki notes that it is an "*Apolloniem in Vaticano.*"

[179] After seeing the items from Rome, Palbitzki seems unsure of the quality of the Florence marbles so it is possible that the purchase was nullified by choice, although lack of funds seems to have been a persistent issue for the queen's agents. A January 1650 letter confirms that some money should be made available for the purchase. It is reproduced in part by Granberg. Granberg, *Svenska Konstsamlingarnas historia,* I, 73.

sculptures eventually acquired by Palbitzki. It is unclear whether any of those items ever arrived in Sweden. Existing letters regarding the purchases do not indicate whether the modern sculpture was passed by for aesthetic or financial reasons. This passage is interesting in terms of the formation of Christina's collection of antiquities because it confirms the type of gallery she was building and the types of objects her agents were looking for. It is clear both from the extant objects in Sweden, which have varying degrees of intervention, and letters between the queen and her agents, that they were sending her a mixture of seventeenth-century works in the classical style, antique pieces, and heavily restored or re-attributed ancient fragments. This mode of acquisition is not dissimilar to the ways that other rulers outside of Italy acquired antique works. It was typical to have a network of domestic agents working with dealers and artist's workshops in Italy to locate items that would be good candidates for restoration, copy, and export. Rulers such as Louis XIV and collectors like Cardinal Mazarin collected antiquities of these types in this manner while also purchasing plaster copies of famous antiquities as was done by Mary of Hungary and by the Spanish Crown in a series of seventeenth-century purchases orchestrated by Velázquez.

Any certain accounting of what objects arrived in Sweden and which items in Christina's collection were authentic antiquities and which were copies after the antique is difficult to assess. Further research in this area is needed and has been begun by Professor Leander Touati.[180] For the purposes of the present study, such distinction proves ultimately unessential, as our modern concept of authenticity is demonstrably different from the way in which such a collection would have been understood, particularly outside of Italy. High quality copies were often displayed by everyone from artists to royalty without condescension or a sense of anachronism, making our analysis of whether Christina's agents were purchasing copies, pastiches, ancient marbles an interesting ancillary issue to our understanding of her Swedish decorative programs and purchases.

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[180] The forthcoming second volume of *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum*, promises a good deal of new research on the identification of the sculptural types and Early Modern restorations and alterations performed.

Purchases in the Netherlands

Christina has become known to posterity for some of the difficulties she faced in getting the best artists and scholars to stay at her cold, unfamiliar, northern court. The unfortunate death of René Descartes is the most notable loss suffered by intellectuals traveling to Sweden, but by no means was he the only one. The queen lost advisor Hugo Grotius, former ambassador from Sweden to Paris, who died in a shipwreck on his way home after meeting with the queen in Stockholm. Gabriel Naudé, a librarian and scholar who worked for both Cardinal Richelieu and Cardinal Mazarin at the French Court, died on his way back to France from a stint as a librarian for Christina in Stockholm.[181] Despite such setbacks, Christina's network of agents throughout Europe were well connected both socially and artistically. Much of the queen's collection was built through the collaboration of her art agents in the Netherlands, Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon and Michel le Blon.[182] Silvercroon was a Dutch art dealer and avid collector who lived at The Hague but was in Sweden in 1650, likely for the coronation celebrations. Le Blon was trained as a silversmith, spent time in Italy with his cousin Joachim Sandrart, and was instrumental in negotiating purchases from Augsburg and Amsterdam for the queen.

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[181] For information on the academics who the queen surrounded herself with see: Ragnar Sjöberg, *Drottning Christina och hennes samtid* (Stockholm: Hökerberg, 1925); Susanna Åkerman, *Queen Christina of Sweden and Her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth Century Philosophical Libertine* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991).

[182] Silvercroon is also written Silvercrona and he is referred to by Christina in letters and in the du Fresne inventory as Spiring. Le Blon appears in the du Fresne inventory as Blom.

The collective taste of le Blon and Silvercroon was influential in the formation of Christina's early collections, but the queen also asserted her own taste, swiftly rejecting pieces that she did not like. Based on letters between the queen and these two agents, it is clear that Christina had well-formed opinions with regard to taste and acquisition at a young age. Evidence of the personal hand she took in the development of her picture gallery can be seen in her dismissal of Netherlandish paintings sent by Silvercroon. He was particularly fond of works by the artist Gerard Dou and had several pieces by the artist in his own collection. One of the shipments of artworks forwarded to Christina by Silvercroon included a selection of paintings by Dou which were poorly received by the queen and were sent back to him while other works from the shipment were retained.[183]

Christina's flat rejection of most northern masters, even those as renowned as Albrecht Dürer, can be seen in her correspondence with Paolo Giordano Orsini, third Duke of Bracciano, that began in the summer of 1649.[184] The Duke was from one of Rome's oldest families and held a large art collection at his residence on Lake Bracciano, now the Castello Orsini-Odescalchi.[185]

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[183] See: I.M. Veldman, "Portrait of an art collector: Pieter Spiering van Silvercroon", *Simiolus Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 38 (2015-2016): 228-249. It is generally described that Christina only approved of works by Italian masters, and, while there is some truth to this, she made her appreciation for some northern artists known. While she disliked Dou, during her post-abdication travels she acknowledges her appreciation for the work of Flemish artist David Teniers the Younger, gifting him with a medal featuring her portrait. Jane Davidson, *David Teniers the Younger* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), 28.

[184] Per Bjurström, *Christina: Queen of Sweden* (Stockholm: Egnellska Boktryckeriet, 1966), 298; Bildt, "*Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II, duca di Bracciano*," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria 29* (1906): XXIX, 5-32.

[185] The queen stopped in Bracciano on her way to Rome in 1655 but her friendship with Duke Orsini was cut short by his death the following year.

In a letter of 1653 to the Duke, Christina describes some of the collections that have just arrived from Prague. She boasts of an "infinite range" of objects including works by Dürer and other unidentified German masters.[186] She is careful to distinguish the quality and breadth of the collection while still emphasizing her preference for Italian works, declaring that, "apart for some thirty or forty Italian originals, I discount them all." Christina goes on to say that she would exchange all of the works by northern masters "for two Raphaels, and I think that even this would be doing them too much honor."[187] Such statements were clearly not hyperbole as Dürer's Adam and Eve, acquired from Prague, were given away by the queen before she left for Rome.

Christina's well-developed personal taste was clearly guided, not dictated, by her agents. Her desire to make Roman society acutely aware of her taste for Italian masters may indicate that she understood the reputation that northern artists typically held in Italy as technically proficient but unrefined. In his *Vite,* Vasari repeatedly describes northern artists and their work as barbaric, even as he notes their skill and notoriety.[188] Christina was trying to signal to her southern counterparts that the title "Queen of the Goths," did not make her or her court synonymous with barbarism. She could have chosen no better way to demonstrate this than by aligning herself, first artistically, then religiously, within the parameters set out by Italian critiques of northerners and artistic taste.

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[186] The Duke of Bracciano himself had an impressive art collection which included works by Dürer, Bernini and Tintoretto.

[187] This letter is translated and reproduced, in part, in Nordenfalk, Carl. "Christina and Art," in *Christina of Sweden: A Personality of European Civilization* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 418-19.

[188] Unpublished research presented at a conference. Jeffery Chipps Smith, "Vasari on the Barbarians of Northern Europe," (paper presented at Renaissance Society of America, New Orleans, LA, March, 2018).

While some of the paintings selected by le Blon and Silvercroon met with mixed success, Christina's collection of marbles, coins, and books grew at a rapid pace through her agents. Of the 166 marble sculptures listed in the inventory of Christina's collections created for du Fresne, 74 were purchased by le Blon and 48 were purchased for Christina by Silvercroon.[189] As can be seen in the following section from the du Fresne inventory, *Les Statues de Marbre,* at the time of the inventory's production the Netherlandish purchases of antiquities and copies after the antique represented nearly her entire collection of such objects.[190]

Table 1: Les Statues De Marbre, du Fresne Inventaire, fol. 9.

Source	Inv. #	Description
De son Altesse Royal	*1*	*36 grandes figures de marbre*
Du Sieur Spiring	*2*	*48 figures de marbre grandes et petites l'une Sur l'autre*
Du Sieur Blom	*3* *4*	*73 pièces de figures de marbre l'une sous l'autre* *Un long tableaux de marbre representant en sculpture plusieurs figures*
De Prague	*5* *6*	*4 figures de marbre* *Trois tableaux de marbre representanz des figures enchasseis la teste de Goliath en figure de marbre*
De Sieur Falk	*7*	*Deux grandes figures de plaster que ont che donne a la Royne le Sieur Falk*
Du Sieur Blom	*8* *9*	*Dix personnages de terre* *Un taureau et un Lion de terre*
		Statues de marbre – 166 *Statues de terre – 13*

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[189] I have not found letters that explicitly mention the marble purchases by Silvercroon but evidence of such correspondence is worth further exploration as his purchases may include the group of marbles formerly owned by Nicolaas Rockox in Antwerp. These are listed as "Marbles" numbers 2,3,4,8,9. Du Fresne, *Inventaire,* fol. 9.

[190] As can be seen in the chart, the descriptions provided in the inventory are not detailed enough to tell how many of the objects listed may have been antique and how many were sixteenth or seventeenth-century works.

While we do not know where or when Christina displayed these marbles, in 1664 72 busts were as on described as on display in the library of the Tre Kronor. The strong correlation between the number of marbles in the palace library and the number of marbles purchased by Le Blon has been used by Leander Touati as sound reasoning behind the assumption that these marbles are one and the same as those displayed in the library of the Tre Kronor.[191] The library was additionally decorated with a variety of artworks and scientific instruments including globes, a pyramid, bronzes, six statues, and a marble copy of the Laocoön group, most of which must have remained in the palace from Christina's former collections.[192] 19 busts from the library were saved from the fire and survived to be counted in the current collections of the Nationalmuseum. Those objects can, therefore, be traced back to purchases by le Blon with some certainty.[193]

Those 19 pieces from the 166 possible antique sculptures in Christina's Swedish collection are among the only antique marbles once owned by Christina that can be accounted for in Stockholm by the eighteenth century.[194] While Palbitzki's original paintings appear in the 1652 inventory, no sculptural acquisitions are attributed to him and none of the inventory entries match the description of items from the 1649 trip provided in the *Listes des statues et bustes*.

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[191] Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum,* 23-24.

[192] Rodén, *Politics and Culture*, 90.

[193] Leander Touati uses an acquisition list from 1650 drawn up by le Blon and a bill for work carried out by a employee of the crown called Wendel Stamm for the installation of busts in 1664 as well as records of works saved from the fire as evidence to trace at least 14 busts in the current collections to Christina's purchases. Leander Touati, *Ancient Sculptures in the Royal Museum,* 23-24.

[194] The next descriptive account we have of the royal collection was taken after their installation in Gustav III's museum of antiquities which opened as one of Europe's first public museums in 1794. The king's antiquarian, Carl Friedrick Fredenheim produced a catalog of the works displayed. Most of the items listed were purchased in Italy by Gustav III but among them were many of the 19 objects that belonged to Christina. Carl Friedrick Fredenheim *Förteckning uppå I Konungens Museum* 1793-1804, Stockholm: Riksarkivet: KM:9a; Leander Touati, *Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities,* 15.

Karl Erik Steneberg cites letters referring to difficulty exporting the marbles written by Peter Trotzig, commissioner in Amsterdam as evidence that the objects never left Italy.[195] Niles Wollin has alternately suggested that they did arrive but were, for unknown reasons, not cataloged. He argues that it is possible the Hercules listed in the *Listes des statues et bustes* which was acquired by Palbitzki is one and the same with a Hercules from the garden façade of Drottningholm Palace.[196] Additional research on the shipping records, a search for permissions granted for exports to Amsterdam, and more detailed examination of the Hercules could lend this issue some additional clarity, the details of Palbitzki's purchases requires further research.[197]

The Rockox Marbles

At least twelve sculptures now in the collection of the Swedish Nationalmuseum, have been traced to a single purchase by Christina's agent in Antwerp.[198] The pieces were part of a large purchase from the art cabinet of Burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox (1560-1640) and were likely accounted for in the 1652 inventory, having arrived in Stockholm around 1650.[199] It is assumed that none of the marbles from this purchase made the trip to Rome with the queen and that they remained together in Sweden, although the matter remains open for debate and further research.

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[195] Steneberg, "Le Blon, Quellinus, Millich…," 338.

[196] Wollin, *The Marbles in the Royal Park of Drottningholm,* 44-45. Hercules is now known as NMSk 32.

[197] The most comprehensive account of his work for the queen remains Nisser's relatively brief 1934 text. W. Nisser, *Mathias Palbitki som connoisseur och tecknare.* (Lundequist, 1934).

[198] Robert Sheller first identified a link between marbles in Sweden and the Rockox collection. Further work to attribute works in the Nationalmuseum's collection with those in the Rockox inventories has been undertaken by Ann Marie Leander Touati. Robert Walter Hans Peter Scheller, *Nicolaas Rockox als oudheidkundige* (Brussels: Kredietbank, 1978).

[199] The purchase has been traced through the Antwerp Poor House after inheriting it upon the burgomaster's death in 1640. Lichtenstein Museum, *Samson and Delilah,* 19-31.

The Rockox collection was well known, with marbles eventually purchased by Christina identifiable in a series of prints by Rubens as well as in portraits of Rockox.[200] Several busts and one of the herms appear in their pre-restoration state in a painting by Frans Franken the Younger, *Feast in the House of Nicolaas Rockox,* completed in the first half of the 1630s (Fig.11).[201] Extant inventories of the Rockox collection indicate that Christina's agents likely purchased the entirety of his sculpture collection with significantly more than half of the items listed in Antwerp corresponding to the extant marbles in Sweden which were spared in the fire at the Tre Kronor.[202]

While we cannot identify each of the pieces purchased as part of the group, the extant sculptures that can securely be traced to Antwerp include three herms with the names Demonsthenes, Plato, and Lysias inscribed on their bases, a set of busts which may have included a mixture of authentic antiquities and sixteenth or seventeenth-century copies after the antique and a number of small modern bronzes.[203] The busts purchased were primarily antique or partially antique marble portraits attributed to famous men of antiquity and may have included the Marcus Aurelius and the Minerva seen in Franken's painting. Of the busts still in Sweden, a Jupiter, a Juno, Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Cornelius Sulla have been positively identified.[204]

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[200] Rubens depicted figures from the Rockox collection in his "Twelve famous Greek and Roman Men," and was an avid collector of art and antiquities himself. For Rubens' connection with Rockox and his series of Greek and Roman men, see: Marjon van der Meulen, *Rubens Copies after the Antique*: *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard.* XXIII, (London and New York, 1994), II, 125-27; Jeffrey Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Lichtenstein, *Samson and Delilah*, 23. For the collection of antique busts in northern Europe and the legacy of collectors such as Rockox see: Valérie Herremans, et all., eds., *Heads on Shoulders*: *Portrait Busts in the Low Countries 1600-1800* (Ghent: Snoeck, 2008), 18.

[201] The painting, along with a handful of the busts now in the collection of the Swedish Nationalmuseum, were shown in a 2007 exhibition of works from the Rockox collection organized by the Lichtenstein museum. It was first discussed within the context of Christina's collections by Scheller. Restorations were carried out on several pieces in the collection which removed later interventions as well as the inscribed bases of the herms. Scheller, *Nicolaas Rockox als oudheidkundige*; Lichtenstein, *Samson and Delilah*, 19-23.

[202] Leander Touati, *Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities*, 15.

Including the Rockox purchase, over the course of his service to the queen, le Blon was responsible for the purchase of at least 400 medals, three stone reliefs, seven ivories (one of which was from the collection of Rubens), a set of four paintings "*en forme de médailles avec chassis nior,*" and 12 paintings of various mythological, Biblical and portrait subjects. He wrote to her about his purchase of 40 gold medals and the opportunity for an acquisition of antique sculptures in a letter of September 1649.[205] Five months later, he wrote again, this time about a different set of ancient marbles. Le Blon had organized the possible acquisition of a group of antiquities from the famous Reynst collection in Amsterdam.[206] This purchase was never completed but the failure did not seem to deter his continued enthusiasm for building the queen's cabinet.[207]

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[203] Ibid., 19-22.

[204] It has been suggested that a seventeenth-century bust of Minerva after the antique in the collection of the Prado, and previously part of Christina's collection in Rome, shares some similarities with a bust depicted in a painting of the burgomaster's collection, now in the Alte Pinaothek. There are incongruences in the appearance of the breast and head piece on the proposed seventeenth-century Minerva and the one in the painting. While it may be possible to confirm a connection between the Prado and Rockox Minerva, the suggestion that one of Rockox's marbles ended up in the Prado collections is further complicated by the fact that there is no indication that any of Christina's ancient marbles made the trip to Rome with her. Busts are often specified as such on inventories from the period (as opposed to full figure sculpture or small marbles) but no possible analogues are mentioned in the inventory of Christina's objects created in Antwerp on their way to Rome. Leander Touati suggests that this may not preclude select works from the Rockox marbles from having traveled to Rome, accompanying the queen instead of being shipped with the rest of the artworks and books. The objects that followed Christina on her trip south included family tapestries, books, mathematical instruments and paintings. A few larger objects such as coin cabinets were taken but the most delicate, awkward items in her collection such as *naturalia* remained in Sweden. The idea that she'd have traveled with the Minerva is attractive primarily due to her personal affinity to the Goddess and this topic is worthy of further study. Ibid., 23-31.

[205] The entry on the four paintings indicates that they were in the form of medals with dark frames.

[206] Christina would most likely have been interested in Reynst's collection of Italian masters which was as well esteemed as the collection of antiquities but Reynst was not looking to sell. He had only recently acquired many of his best paintings from the sale of Charles I's English collection. The entirety of the Reynst collection would be dispersed only a few years later following Gerard Reynst's untimely death in 1658 however, by that time, Christina

In addition to his sizeable material legacy in Christina's antiquities collections, one of le Blon's largest artistic projects was never completed and has only been pieced together through a series of related material purchases and hires. In 1649, le Blon purchased a set of muses in the form of small terracotta models from Amsterdam.[208] The *bozzetti* were models for a set of monumental marble sculptures that were never begun but for which Steneberg has traced the acquisition of considerable quantities of marble. The terracotta figurines were produced by the artist Artus Quellunus, an associate of le Blon.[209] This acquisition of the Quellini Muses illustrates the extent to which Christina was involved in the conscious construction, not only of a world-class collection of legitimate antiquities and painting galleries, but also in the more general curation of a humanist court with strongly political allegorical themes at its core.

Allusions to Christina's creation of an academic Arcadia or Parnassus were evident in prints and medals produced in her circle and were first expounded upon in contemporary scholarship by Steneberg.[210] One of the largest displays of this type can be seen in a set of

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had abdicated and was having significant financial trouble making any further consideration of a purchase impossible. Anne-Marie *Logan, Cabinet of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst* (The Netherlands: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1979).

[207] The sculptures and busts were of high quality but Steneberg suggests that she was still under the impression that she'd be receiving Palbitzki's marbles from Italy and therefore rejected the purchase. Steneberg, "Le Blon, Quellinus, Millich," 339.

[208] These were shipped with other sculptures and appeared in the list of marbles reproduced above as "Dix personnages de terre." Ibid., 340-41.

[209] Susanna Åkerman has suggested that these *bozzetti* were intended to grace the queen's palace, framing it as an Appolonic temple, promoting the queen's academic prowess. Åkerman, "The Forms of Queen Christina's Academies," in *The Shapes of Knowledge from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*, eds. D.R. Kelley and R.H. Popkin (*Dordrecht:* Kluwer Publishers, 1991), 182.

[210] Steneberg, "Le Blon, Quellinus, Millich."

paintings by Vallari which recorded the floats built for Christina's coronation procession. Among the most impressive was a mechanically propelled ephemeral Parnassus adorned with figures of Apollo and the Muses. The festival train was likely paid for by the queen's cousin, the future King Carl Gustav, whose other gifts to Christina included a cabinet of antique and modern coins and medals.[211] Christina's personal inclination toward themes of an Apollonian Golden Age can be inferred through the fact that her cousin was educated alongside her and would have known her taste, scholastic interests, and desires better than most. The larger project for which the *bozzetti* were created might be considered one of the first indications that Christina herself had plans to manifest the spirit of her leaned court into a physical Parnassus helmed by the figures of Minerva and Apollo, themes which would re-appear with great vigor in the displays of antiquities on the *piano terreno* of her Roman residence.

Contact author or program for image

Figure 11: *Banquet in the House of Nicolaas Rockox.*
Frans Francken the Younger. c. 1630/35, oil on panel. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv.-No. 858 (Photo: Liechtenstein, The Princely Collections, digital library)

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[211] Bjurström, *Christina: Queen of Sweden*, 558.

Part Two

Power, Knowledge, and Kingship: Christina's Acquisition and Display of Antiquities at her Roman Residences

The specific circumstances under which Christina chose to leave Sweden are well researched. Each letter, Jesuit contact, image, and political maneuver have been dissected to understand better her motivations, inclinations, and intentions. Despite this, there remains uncertainty as to exactly when she made up her mind to abdicate and whether or not Rome was always her intended destination. In Stockholm, her desire to transform her court into a recreation of Mt. Parnassus, celebrating art, learning, and the study of the classical past, was clear, as was the queen's affinity for contemporary Italian music and preference for artists working in the popular style of Roman classicism.[212] The practicality and delicacy of her situation after abdication likely made Rome one of several options she entertained. It would certainly have been among the most attractive options from a personal and a political standpoint, as Rome offered the ability to maintain her title without the complication of a competing secular monarch. The Pope added the advantage of aid from the church should she convert.

In Sweden, Christina built a familiarity with the art scene in Italy and kept abreast of Roman gossip. By 1649, she was already gauging how she might fare among the Roman nobility, as evidenced by her correspondence with the Duke of Bracciano that began in the summer of that year. In her letters, Christina inquired about society, frescoes by Pietro Cortona, and the fountains of Rome.[213] Over the course of their correspondence, Christina repeatedly named her favorite artists working in Rome, mentioning Bernini by name and impressing upon her correspondent her knowledge of both art and current affairs.

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[212] Berguld and Schildt, "Italian Music," 1-17.

From reading Christina's letters to the Duke we get an image of a queen determined to present herself as educated and possessing good taste.[214] Perhaps more importantly, her writing indicates a clear effort to demonstrate deep knowledge of and involvement in European politics and court culture. Christina's campaign to make her interests and her fluency in the Roman social scene known before her arrival in Italy were resoundingly successful. She was introduced to Bernini within hours of her arrival in Rome. Among the gifts presented to the queen for her official entry into the city were a horse and a carriage designed by the artist.[215] Ahead of her public conversion, Alexander VII was acutely aware that Christina's ego would be stroked and her readiness to publicly convert would be encouraged by sending a prominent man of learning as his envoy the queen. The pope selected his Librarian, Lukas Holstenius, to meet Christina, assure that the conversion took place, and travel back to Rome with her.[216] Holstenius's qualifications as a man of letters and deep religious convictions were well considered by the Pope and, according to Galeazzo Priorato, he had a good rapport with the queen.[217] Of Christina's early meetings with Holstenius, Galeazzo writes that:

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[213] Nationalmuseum, *Christina Queen of Sweden Documents and Studies*, 298. See also: Bildt, "Cristina di Svezia e Paolo Giordano II duca di Bracciano*,*" 5-32.

[214] The selection of Bernini as the designer of the queen's carriage for her official entry into the city demonstrates the effectiveness of her campaigns to make her personal and artistic preferences known prior to her arrival. All of the decorations and festivities which accompanied her entry into the city were carefully selected and conform to the picture of an educated ruler who brought with her to Rome the promise of both political benefits and royal patronage for the city's inhabitants.

[215] "The present, given her by his Holiness, was brought, to wit, a Coach, a Litter, a Chair, and an ambling Nagge; the Coach was all of silver, with statues, little figures, cut-works, and mysterious devises of the invention of Cavalier Bernino. The lining, and covering were of azure Velvet, and the fringes of the broad Gardes inter-woven with sutable twists, and buttons and loops of Silver, empailed with large, and rich massy studs…" Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 371. On Christina's relationship with Bernini see: Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1986), 147, 372, 384; Zirpolo, "Christina of Sweden's Patronage of Bernini," 38-43.

> She discoursed with him with much affability, shewing she was particularly informed of his qualities, his eminent learning, and singular erudition in the Sciences. She spake with much praise, and great esteem of his vertuous labours, as well sacred as prophane. She curiously inquired of the rare books that are kept in the Vatican, of the learned men in Rome, and particularly of the Cardinals and Prelates, shewing, she was very well informed, as well in the general, as particularly of the Court of Rome, and going on in telling him, she thought it her good fortune, to be able to make use of a person of his quality at Rome, for the seeing of the Libraries, antiquities, and other curious things.[218]

Christina's antiquarian, philosophical, and artistic pursuits, recognized by the Pope, set her apart from most other Early Modern female rulers and aligned her more closely with her male counterparts. By the second half of the seventeenth century, having a collection of marbles or casts of the most famous antique sculpture was common among monarchs and the aristocracy across southern Europe. These collections were status symbols which showed their owner's

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[216] Once Christina publicly converted her relationship with Protestant Sweden would be forever altered. She feared that her ability to return home and the continued receipt of payments negotiated in her abdication agreement would be greatly affected. Such fears were not unfounded. Several years later, the queen was barred from entering the country with her Catholic priest and was never able to return to Sweden. Her post-conversion struggle to maintain sufficient payments from her country of birth are well known.

[217] Holstenius was introduced to Christina in a letter from Alexander VII addressed to "Our Most Dear Daughter in Christ, Christina the Illustrious Queen of Swedeland." In it, the pope writes, "We send to your Majesty, our beloved son Luke Holstenius of our Houshold, principal Apostolical Notary, Canon of the Church of St. Peter, and Keeper of our Vatican Library, a man for his knowledge in all learning and singular piety, very dear unto us, who may be assistant to you in your publique profession of the Catholick faith, according to the ancient and accustomed manner of the Roman Church, and by whom our great love to you, and the joy we have received, may more fully be declared." This letter confirms that the primary goal of sending Holstenius was to convince the queen to publicly convert before she would be allowed to continue her journey into the Papal States. Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina* ,146

[218] Ibid., 143-44.

education and taste. Many prominent Roman families, cardinals, and churchmen collected fragments, plaster copies and pastiches that ennobled their gardens.[219] Most of these noble collections contained only a few quality pieces of antique marble, displayed in the most public area of the palace to show their taste and highlight the family's ancient heritage. The majority of these noble displays lacked common components of a well-rounded antiquarian collection such as a set of busts featuring Roman Emperors or a well-appointed coin cabinet and classical library.[220]

The libraries of scholars and antiquarians typically held the best coins and books, but owing to their lower financial and social status, they featured fewer large galleries of Renaissance master paintings, settling for a handful of drawings or a couple of notable canvases. A few collections boasted both extensive antiquities collections and modern paintings. These typically belonged to Rome's most prominent papal families such as the Farnese, the Barberini, the Chigi, the Pamphilj and the Borghese. These families possessed the social and political clout to get the most prized marbles from excavations and to commission dozens of paintings from the most celebrated artists. To build their antiquities collections they would often hire an antiquarian who would amass and display a renowned collection of marbles on their behalf. It is in this tradition of Roman collecting that Christina built her galleries.

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[219] For examples of the use of plaster casts of antiquities in Early Modern collections see: Bruce Boucher. "Leone Leoni and Primaticcio's Moulds of Antique Sculpture." *The Burlington Magazine* 123, no. 934 (January, 1981): 23-26.

[220] Examples of such collections and the importance of antiquarian collecting for social, political and scholastic purposes throughout the Early Modern period has been extensively established by scholars such as Paula Findlen, Katherine Bentz, Carole Paul, and Kathleen Christian. Findlen, *Possessing Nature*; Bentz, "The Afterlife of the Cesi Garden," 134-165; Paul, *The Borghese Collections*; Wren Christian, Guest and Wedepohl, *The Muses and their Afterlife in post-Classical Europe*.

By the mid-seventeenth century when Christina arrived in Italy, many of Rome's great collections were in a state of limbo. The patrons who built them in the preceding century had died, leaving the collections to their heirs. Those new owners were no longer in control of the papacy and without the social and financial benefits that came with that post, they often had to sell or redistribute large portions of their family collections and rent out their palaces. The pressure to stamp out nepotism by the *Squadrone Volante* meant that such displays were being created on a different scale than they had been in the previous century.[221] Christina's collection embodied the best aspects of noble, papal, and scholarly collections in Rome and was rightfully recognized as one of the premier collections in Europe. Like the Popes and their families, she hired librarians and antiquarians to build a learned collection of books, marbles, coins, and medals that would complement her impressive paintings collection which featured Italian masters. The following chapter will outline the development, display, and dispersal of Christina's Roman collections. A complete description of what Christina owned in Rome and an interpretation of the gallery's primary themes will follow in chapter 4.

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[221] Rodén. *Church Politics*.

Chapter Three

The Queen, her Collections, and her Roman Context

Establishment and Embellishment: Christina's Reception in Rome and the decoration of her Italian Residences

An analysis of Christina's Roman antiquities collection, the socio-political environment in which it was created, and the scope of local antiquarian collecting will help us to understand the atmosphere in which she was operating and the messages the queen was sending through her objects. It will additionally complement and elaborate on current scholarship regarding the queen's impact on the art market in Rome after her abdication. In tracing Christina's means and methods of acquisition, we gain a better understanding of the agency she had with respect to her collection, lending added significance to her unique position as an Early Modern female collector of antiquities. This chapter will outline her integration into the Roman scholarly, academic, and artistic circles; her place within the scope of extant Roman antiquities collections; how she acquired the objects she displayed; and how we know what she collected.

Christina's thirty-three years in Rome are bookended by processional engravings of events that saw the queen, her household, and scores of Roman nobility and churchmen winding through the streets of the Eternal City. The first event, Christina's grand entry into Rome on December 20th, 1655, is seen in a print, the *Ingresso della regina Christina di Svezia a Roma,* produced by an unknown hand (Fig.12). The other event is her funeral train of April 23rd, 1689 and is represented in a print produced by Robert van Audenaerde shortly after her death

(Fig.13).[222] Both images are in landscape format with the processional trains snaking back and forth horizontally. The carriages, figures, and horses, filing through undefined streets, are punctuated by architectural semiophores that have been lifted from the fabric of Rome and stand alone as markers of space, distance, and *Romanitas*. These building portraits, removed from all other context except that of the procession, allow anyone familiar with Rome to reconstruct mentally the rest of the route while keeping the image's focus on the figures in the procession.

When viewed side by side, the *Ingresso* print is notably cruder than the funeral image. The *Ingresso* takes place in five registers with the procession starting at the Porta del Popolo in the upper left and continuing right to left, left to right, alternating down the page until the group is depicted arriving at the steps of St. Peters. There is only a rudimentary attempt to present figures, carriages, animals, and buildings in proper scale to one another. The placement of the obelisks in the Piazza del Popolo and the Vatican indicate the idea of a place rather than its faithful representation. Tiny people next to the facade of Santa Maria del Popolo are juxtaposed with the much larger figures taking place in the procession. Those partaking in the procession are depicted in enough detail that, using written accounts of the event, they are identifiable as groups and occasionally as individuals. The interior side of the gate in the Aurelian wall, recently re-designed by Bernini for the occasion, is prominently shown in the *Ingresso* engraving.

The print represents the official entry of Christina, who had actually arrived in the city a couple of days earlier. When Christina arrived in Rome she was brought directly to the Vatican through the rarely-used Porta Pertusa. Rooms were prepared for her in the Torre dei Venti, the high tower mid-way down the length of the cortile del Belvedere. Since she arrived in the evening, she was taken only briefly to meet the Pope. From her tower the following morning, she would have been able to see much of Rome, including the Castel St. Angelo, as well as portions of the Vatican antiquities collection displayed in the courtyard below her.[223] All of Rome was aware of the queen's presence. Galeazzo reports that the Pope ordered all shops to be closed and all trades to cease work for the day to observe her official entry.[224]

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[222] Many print versions of these processions exist as do a significant number of similar works that depict her coronation in Stockholm in 1650 and her entry into Paris in 1656.

Passing monuments of both classical and religious importance, Christina began her entry by leaving the Vatican through the Porta Angelica, riding in a carriage along the river to the Milvian Bridge where she was joined by a train of horsemen, trumpeters, drummers, cardinals, lords, and governors.[225] They stopped at the vineyard of Pope Julius where the queen had a brief meal. In an account as rich in royal allegorical meaning as it is in hyperbole, Galeazzo writes that while at the vineyard, the rain that had plagued the procession suddenly ceased and "the Heaven, as if ashamed not to give place to so splendid a Triumph, dispersed the clowds in a moment, chased away the darkness, and brought back the Sun, that he might be likewise assistant to the train of so rare, and so renowned a show."[226]

Proceeding from the vineyard with her full train, the queen's procession came into the city through the Porta del Popolo and continued up the current Via del Corso to the Arco di Portugallo which is pictured on the right side of the *Ingresso* print's middle register.[227] Two hundred and fifty meters later she would have passed by the Column of Marcus Aurelius on her right as she proceeded toward the Forum. On this route she saw the palaces of some of Rome's most prominent families, the large cluster of antique marbles displayed outside of the Palazzo Venezia, and the statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill. Turning to pass by the churches of San Marco, the Gesù, and Sant'Andrea della Valle, the route through central Rome continued along the Monte Giordano to the Via dei Banchi, and over the Ponte St. Angelo to the Castel St. Angelo until it arrived at New St. Peter's.

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[223] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 356-385.

[224] Ibid., 361-385.

[225] Galeazzo gives the procession, the participants, and their clothes considerable thought in his account but his description of the route taken by the group through the streets of Rome is scant, making the engraving a useful tool in the procession's reconstruction. Each group of figures and building in prints of the *Ingresso* are labeled with their title or role in the festivity.

[226] Ibid., 369.

The Basilica appears in the lower right corner of the *Ingresso* print with the Castel St. Angelo on the left-hand side of the same register. The structure is truncated in the print which only shows half of the building. St. Peter's and the Castel St. Angelo frame the five groups of figures which lead the queen's procession like wings on a stage set.[228] This element of theatricality expressed by the design of the print echoes and amplifies the performative nature of the procession it depicts. Both the entry celebrations and the festivities that followed are extensively documented in a large body of prints, paintings, and written accounts that illustrate the impact Christina's arrival had on Rome as well as the effect that Rome had on the queen.[229]

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[227] This was most likely a late antique gate. It was demolished and its reliefs moved within a decade after Christina's entry into Rome.

[228] At the Castel St. Angelo, Christina was taken up the ramps to the top where she could survey Rome. There she fired a series of ceremonial cannon rounds as she had done in other cities on the route to Rome. The cannonballs fired by the queen could be seen for decades in the south portal of the Medici Villa where visitors would see them on their way into the display of antique sculptures inside. Rodolfo Amedeo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità* vol.3 (Rome: Ermanno Loescher Co., 1907), 16.

[229] The parade itself was lavish and has been thoroughly discussed by authors such as Per Bjurström and Camilla Kandare. The body of other images made in association with the festivities that accompanied Christina's move to Rome is an area deserving of additional attention. Bjurström, *Feast and Theater in Queen Christina's Rome*; Camilla Kandare, "CorpoReality"; Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* books 6-7.

After her formal entry into Rome, ceremonies to welcome Christina continued for weeks. She was taken to visit a series of churches, relics, colleges, academies, and monasteries within her first several days in the city. After settling into the Palazzo Farnese two days after her celebratory welcome, the queen hosted a variety of individuals and well-wishers. She began a series of official visits to Roman landmarks and collections such as the Fontana dei Quattro Fiumi, the Fontana di Trevi, the Pantheon, the Torre de Specchi, the relics in the Sancta Sanctorum, and the collection of antiquities on the Capitoline Hill.[230] Christina's ceremonial visit to the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* on the Capitoline was commemorated by a plaque, still visible in the Capitoline Museum (Fig.14).

The large wall-monument was constructed in the shape of the Chigi mountains surmounted by a star and features a portrait of Christina at the top with an inscription below. The portrait is a white bust of the queen in relief on a black background; a prominent nose and masses of thick, curly hair dominate the image. Her breast is slight and barely visible beneath her togate dress. The inscription identifies her as "*Christinae Suecorum, Gotthorum et Vandalorum reginae,"* and lauds her conversion under Alexander II. The text notes that during the visit she marveled at the monuments of ancient Rome's grandeur.[231] Between her tour of the Vatican collections, her residency in the Palazzo Farnese, and the visit to the Capitoline's civic collection of marbles and ancient bronzes, it is clear that Christina's education in the antiquities of Rome was foremost among her initial duties as a new resident.

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[230] When she arrived at the Palazzo Farnese, the façade was altered to look like a triumphal arch bearing her coat of arms. The interior still held the famous Farnese Marble collection and was royally furnished courtesy of the Duke of Parma who owned the property. Kuntz, "*Questions of Identity,*" 159-175.

[231] The text on the plaque reads: "CHRISTINAE SUECORUM GOTTHORUM ET VANDALORUM REGINAE QUOD INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS CATHOLICAM FIDEM REGNO AVITO PRAEFERENS POST ADORATA SS APOSTOLORUM LIMINA ET SUBMISSAM VENERATIONEM ALEXANDRO VII SUMMO RELIGIONIS ANTISTITI EXHIBITAM SE SEIPSA TRIUMPHANS IN CAPITOLIUM ASCENDERIT MAIESTATISQUE ROMANAE MONUMENTA VETUSTIS IN RUDERIBUS ADMIRATA III VIROS CONSULARI POTESTATE ET SENATUM TECTO CAPITE CONSIDENTES REGIO HONORE FUERIT PROSECUTA VIII EID QUINCTIL AN M.D.C.L.V.I S.P.Q.R STEPHANO PETRUCCIO JOSEPHO DE ANNIBALDENSIBUS EX DNIS CASTRI ZANCATI FABRITIO DE MAXIMIS EX DNIS CASTRI ARSULI CONSERVATORIBUS IO CAROIO DE PICCOLOMINIBUS EX DNIS CASTRI BALZERANI CAPITUM REGIONUM PRIORE" This text is reproduced in Arckenholtz, *Memoires Concernant Christine reine de Suède,* 528. I have used the translation of the

Among her early appointments in the city, Christina paid her first visit to the Collegium Romanum. The fathers of the Society of the Jesus planned extensive decorations for her welcome on the 8th of January. According to accounts of the display they created for her, it was remarkable and must have taken considerable amounts of time and resources to execute. Inside the gate to the still-unfiChrnished church of St. Ignatius, verses appeared between pillars. Painted on thick boards, these inscriptions praised Christina, attributing the knowledge and power of Solomon, Athena, the Sybils, and the Muses to her grace. Several consecutive rooms in the college were refinished in ephemeral displays made primarily of pasteboard and papier-mâché.

The first room of the decorated suite had a theme of learned women with a series of portraits on large faux medals lining the pillars. Epigrams, inscriptions, and mottos pertaining to the college and to the queen accompanied the images. The second room had statues of well-respected queens accompanied by emblems and a list of virtues for each woman. The following rooms had pillars decorated with text referring to the piety and virtue of a number of historical queens, and images of queens who had come to Rome. These were mounted on ephemeral pyramids, continuing the theme of power and knowledge inherited from antiquity.[232] Christina's visit to the Collegium Romanum, including descriptions of the celebration of queenship through allegory and history presented in the ephemeral decorations there, is a subject which would

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text that appears in: Tyler Lansford, *The Latin Inscriptions of Rome: A Walking Guide* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 31.

[232] This description comes from Galeazzo's account of Christina's introduction to Roman society. Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 420-426.

greatly benefit from further research. My brief account of it here is, to my knowledge, the only discussion of these decorations and events in modern scholarship.[233]

During her other welcome visits throughout Rome, Christina toured the Castel St. Angelo, and requested to see la Sapienza. Galeazzo's accounts of Christina's first months in Rome claim the queen personally requested visits to locations such as la Sapienza came directly from Christina.[234] These statements are contradicted by the elaborate and clearly well-planned receptions that she subsequently received in those locations. The ceremonial welcomes at academies, colleges, and societies across Rome could not have been put together at such short notice and were obviously not constructed on the whims of Christina but were organized to help build a Roman network of individuals whose work she might soon patronize. Their programs, gifts, and displays were clearly guided by advanced knowledge of Christina's interests.

At la Sapienza she was treated to discourses in multiple languages from the faculty and received a gift of 120 gold bound volumes of their work embossed with her coat of arms.[235] Christina received similar gifts after her visit to the Collegio Propaganda Fide, making connections with scholars with whom she had corresponded from Sweden while meeting a host of new contacts.[236] The queen exploited these expanded networks quickly, culminating in her establishment of the Accademia Reale*,* later the Arcadian Academy. The effects of the displays, receptions, and scholastic contacts Christina encountered in her first few months in Rome will be considered along with her purchase of objects for the Riario Palace in the next chapter.

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[233] A much more thorough account of the Collegium Romanum's display and its allegorical themes in relation to Christina's later presentation of self through allegory would be an excellent topic for an article and is an aspect of this dissertation that I plan to address in my future projects.

[234] Ibid., 411.

[235] Ibid., 412-414.

[236] Galeazzo notes the kind of welcome Christina received at the centers of Rome's intellectual life. At the Collegio Propaganda Fide he writes that, "she was welcom'd by the Scholars in two and twenty languages, none of them exceeding two periods, which were afterwards presented her in print in a book with this title. The agreement of tongues in celebrating the praises of Christina Queen of Swedland. This action ended with an invitation of one of the Scholars to the rest, to contract in the Latin tongue alone, what could be expressed in the rest by all the Colledge, to wit the said words, that were printed; may Christina live forever, which were seconded, not only by the Scholars, but

The items that surrounded Christina after she moved into the Farnese palace included the family's marble collection which remained among most famous in Europe. The Farnese marbles were not displayed only in the gardens facing the Tiber but were also placed in the courtyard and in the rooms of the *piano terreno* and *piano nobile*. The palace's great gallery, frescoed with the Loves of the Gods by Annibale Carracci, was complemented by items from the sculpture collection displayed in niches while antique marbles such as the Farnese Hercules inspired the thematic displays in Carracci's frescoes for the *Sala d'Ercole.* This sort of interplay between a room's function, its sculpture and its painted decoration was later adopted and updated by Christina in her decoration of the rooms on the *piano terreno* of the Palazzo Riario.

The Farnese palace was additionally appointed with tapestries and other items left to furnish the palace by its Roman owners. Christina initially stayed in Rome for only a short time, leaving in the summer of 1656 to travel to France. Through all of her travel, Christina continued to direct the establishment of her library and budding collections in Rome. The Queen was in correspondence with Holstenius in 1657 as he was in charge of organizing and arranging her library.[237] After her extended absence, the Palazzo Farnese was no longer available and other accommodation was arranged from 1658-59 in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, the present Palazzo

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all the standers by to her Majesties great content. She then accompanyed by the said Cardinal, went into the Library, in which all the printed books are kept, and here they found six Scholars, with six great basons of Silver, in which, instead of sweet-meats, seventy-two volumes of several works, in two and twenty languages, were presented to her, which pleased her extreamly." Ibid.*,* 428.

[237] Francis William Bain, *Christina, Queen of Sweden* (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1890) 326-27.

Pallavinci Rospigliosi, owned at the time by Cardinal Mazarin.[238] Located on the Quirinal Hill near the papal residence, the palace served as her temporary home for one year. Mazarin's residence was also partially furnished when she moved in but those rooms were understood from the start to be temporary accommodations.

Through his post as Chief Minister to the King of France, Mazarin was in correspondence with Christina both during the negotiations for the Treaty of Westphalia before her abdication and after her move to Rome. The early formation of her collections in Sweden, particularly her library, was heavily influenced by Gabriel Naudé, the librarian who was also responsible for the initial construction of Mazarin's well-known library. The Cardinal's French palace had been decorated by Italian artists in the 1640s, featuring a series of allegorical and mythological scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphos*is. His collection of antique sculpture, which numbered around 350 statues, busts, and reliefs, was one of the most impressive outside of Italy.[239] As Christina began to build her Roman gallery in the following decade, it was erudite collections rich in painting, antique sculpture, and books, such as Mazarin's re-built library and renowned art collections that she tried to emulate.

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[238] The trip was part of her plan to take control of Naples on behalf of the French Crown, a territory then held by Spain. Presenting herself in part as an outside agent who could bring peace to the two countries as she had negotiated for Sweden at the end of the 30 Years War, Christina worked for over a year on securing the deal with Louis XIV. She moved between Pesaro and France in the winter of 1656-57. Her decision not to return to Rome seems to have been a combination of a desire to stay north and keep pressure on the French crown and fear of the plague in Rome. She left Rome again in 1660 after her cousin Charles X of Sweden died in April of that year. His only son, Charles XI was roughly the same age as Christina had been when she had inherited the Swedish throne. Christina did not actively attempt to usurp his power. However, she positioned herself so that were the situation with the young king to change, she would be ready to resume rule of Sweden. After leaving Stockholm for the last time, Christina stayed in Norrköping. She then spent a year in Hamburg before returning to Rome in summer of 1662. It seems likely that her travel there was more to safe guard her financial interests than a desire to resurrect official duties of Kingship. With Charles XI dead, Christina needed to put pressure on the heads of state in charge of the economy during Charles XI's minority to uphold the financial agreements made during her abdication. One further trip to Sweden in 1666 was made to such ends, but issues over the public celebration of Catholic Mass prevented Christina from ever entering Stockholm again. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 290-340.

[239] David Sturdy, *Richelieu and Mazarin: A Study in Statesmanship* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 140-43.

In July of 1659, Christina left Mazarin's palace, moving to the other side of the Tiber near Trastevere and into the Palazzo Riario (Fig.15). The palace, which was later enlarged to become the present Palazzo Corsini, sits on the via Lungara. During Christina's stay, the Riario was owned by the Sforza family. The rental documents, now located in the communal library in Jesi, Italy, list Christina's friend and confidant Cardinal Decio Azzolino as the lease's primary signee.[240] Numerous later accounts refer to Azzolino's handling of the rental agreement as a sign that Christina was not to be trusted. The rental document has also been used in narratives that highlight her barbarism, frivolity, and poor judgement of character in the individuals she kept at her court. While her associates in Rome such as the Santinelli brothers, were possibly not the most reliable confidants, accounts of Christina as a penniless queen allowing them to sell off the Duke of Parma's furnishings and artworks and permitting the household staff to rip the carved wooden doors off of the Palazzo Farnese to burn for warmth, are of dubious veracity.[241]

Christina settled into the Riario and involved herself in its renovations to suit what was clearly anticipated to be a long-term residency.[242] She was not fully able to display her collections of tapestries, paintings and sculpture until after she moved into her new residence on the Lungara in July of 1659. The Palazzo Riario was reconfigured to her liking while she resided in a small casino at the back of her gardens on the top of the Janiculum. The gardens held a small collection of sculptures at the time of her move to the palace, all pieces that were likely too cumbersome to move or the loss of which would have been detrimental to the aesthetic and social functions of the outdoor space. The decoration of the Palazzo Riario and its establishment as one of Europe's premier royal collections of painting and sculpture was developed by Christina and her advisors throughout the remainder of her life.[243]

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[240] Enrica Conversazioni, *L' Archivio Azzolino conservato dal Comune di Jesi: inventario.* (Jesi: Arti Grafiche Jesine, 1988).

[241] There are multiple accounts of the Santinelli brothers taking financial advantage of the queen, who was already in a precarious monetary situation, having not received payments from her Swedish territories. Much of the negativity surrounding the brothers, likely stems from their role in the death of the marchese Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi as one of the Santinellis acted as executioner following through on the queen's orders. Websites too numerous to list repeat the claims of property destruction in the Palazzo Farnese. Each of these can be traced to sensationalized eighteenth-century biographies which have been adopted as truth in articles such as the World Heritage Encyclopedia's entry on the queen. "Christina of Sweden," *World Heritage Encyclopedia*. Section 4.2. Accessed: 5/31/2017. gutenberg.org/articles/eng/Christina_of_Sweden; Masson, *Queen Christina,* 263; Bjurström, *Christina: Queen of Sweden*, *a Personality of European Civilization,* 277.

It is generally understood that the bulk of Christina's marble sculpture purchases in Rome, occurred after 1670 when she was settled in the thoroughly renovated Palazzo Riario. It reasons that the purchase of larger marbles in Rome likely coincided with her lease of the Riario palace and a place to display them. An inventory of the queen's collection, begun in 1662, lists a respectably sized group of antique marbles that were already in the queen's possession within three years of her move to the Riario. The number of marbles listed in the document clearly demonstrates that Christina began making acquisitions within the first decade of her residency in the city, her collecting habits only increasing in the 1670s when her galleries were ready to be filled.[244]

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[242] On the renovations of the Palazzo Riario for Christina see: Giovanni Belardi, *Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara: analisi di un restauro* (Rome: L'artistica Savigliano, 2001).

[243] On the decoration and installation of paintings and other objects in the Palazzo Riario, see: Sjovoll, *Queen Christina of Sweden´s Musaeum*.

[244] There has been some debate regarding the dating of this inventory but based on acquisitions for which we have records independent of the "Azzolino Inventory," a date in the early to mid-1660s can be asserted with some certainty. Hans Henrik Brummer, "The dating of the Azzolino inventory," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 37:2 (2008): 151.

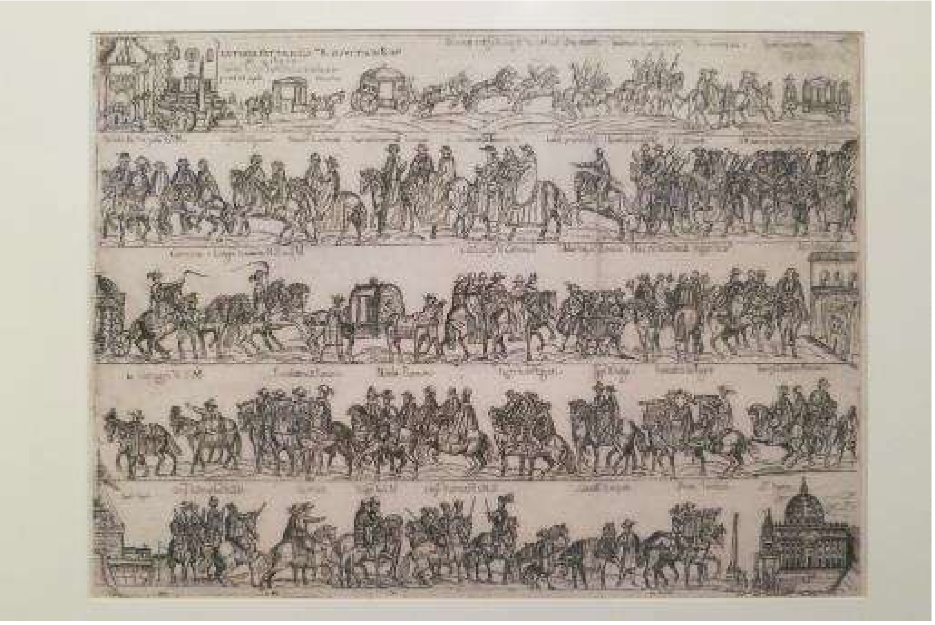

Figure 12: *Ingresso della regina Cristina di Svezia a Roma*.
Unknown artist. 1655, etching. Museo di Roma, Rome, GS 95 (Photo: Author)

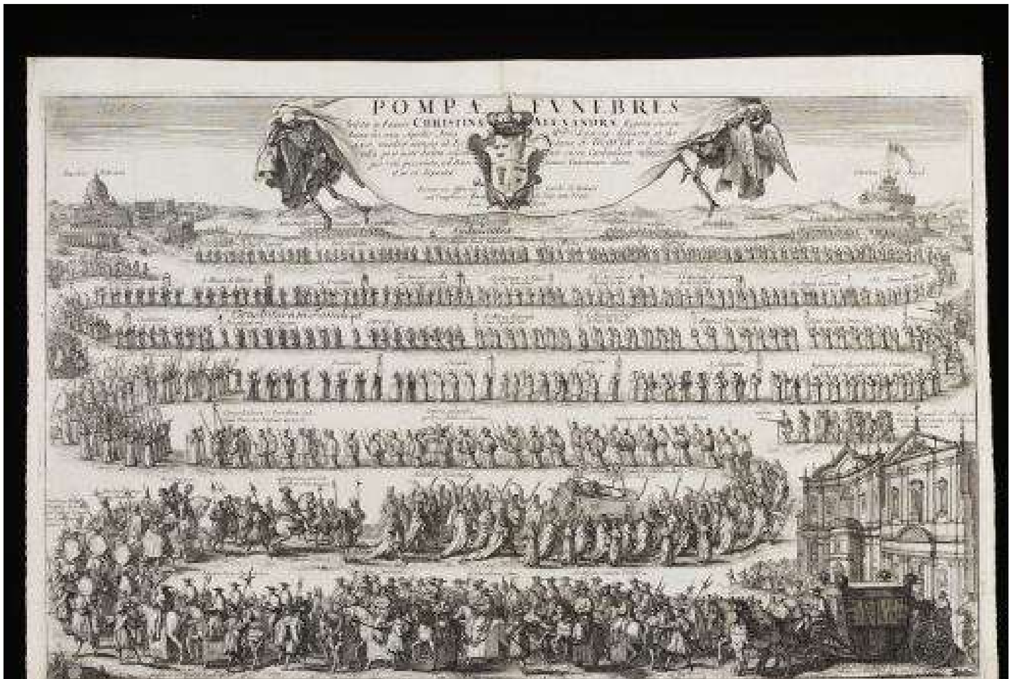

Figure 13: *Pompae Funebres habitae in Funere Christinae Alexandrae Reginae suecice.* Robert van Audenaerde. 1689, etching and engraving on laid paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 21005
(Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

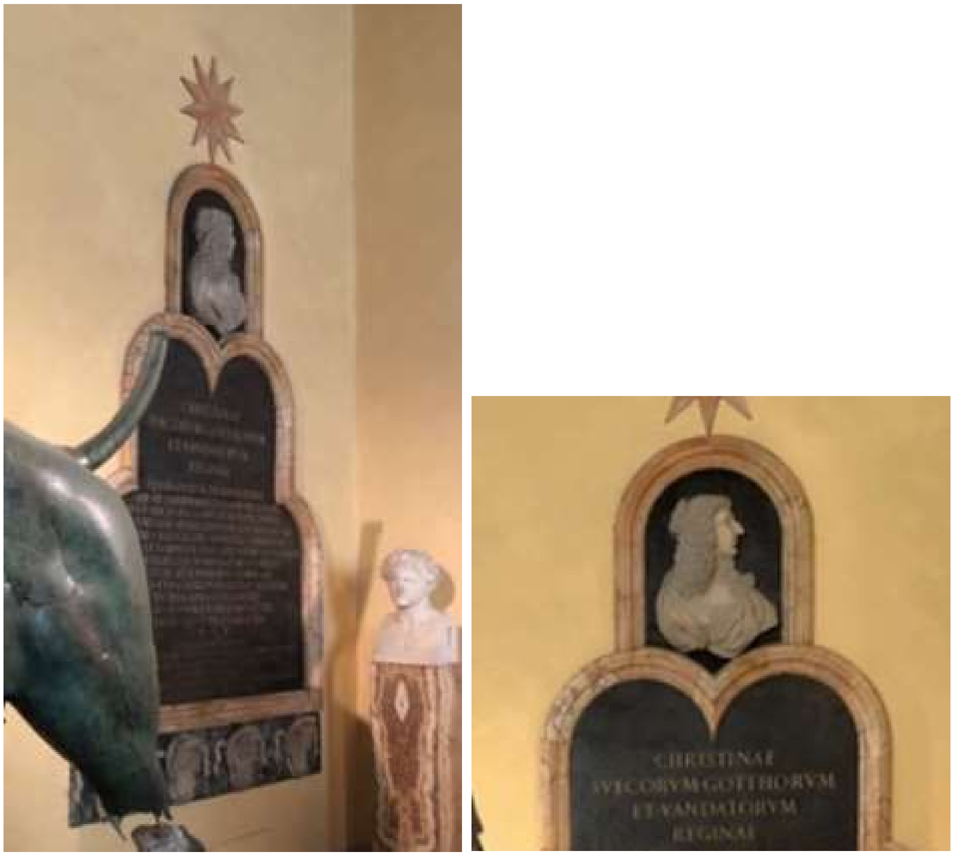
CHRISTINAE
SVECORVM GOTTHORVM
ET VANDALORVM
REGINAE

Figure 14: *Monument Commemorating Christina's First Visit to the Capitoline.* ca. 1655, mixed stone. Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. (Photos: Courtesy of Andrea Middleton)

Contact author or program for image

Figure 15: *View of the Palazzo Riario with Cassino and Gardens Behind.* Unknown artist. 16th century, engraving. Museo Di Roma Gabinetto Comunale Delle Stampe, Rome (Photo: DeAgostini/Getty Images)

The Making of a Royal Collection: What Christina Took from Sweden and her Methods of Acquisition in Rome

We are able to track the queen's acquisitions in Rome through a series of three inventories of the collection. The 1662 inventory, often referred to as the "Azzolino Inventory," does not specify how or where objects were installed but indicates a display of 31 antiquities which are interspersed with other types of objects on the list, perhaps indicating that the display was not fully formed at the time the inventory was taken. Two later inventories of the marble collections provide more detail than the 1662 inventory. The first was taken before 1689 and outlines the collection as it was displayed on the *piano terreno* of the Palazzo Riario. The second was taken in 1713/14, more than two decades after the queen's death, when Christina's antique marbles were in the possession of the Odescalchi family. Object descriptions in these two later Italian inventories are detailed enough that individual entries can be matched to sculptures now in the Prado and to inventories taken after Christina's collection was sold to Spain in the eighteenth century.

The majority of the sculptures listed in the 1662 inventory are mentioned along with their bases indicating that if they were not already placed in their final locations they were set up for display in a gallery. 29 of these can, with some accuracy, be matched to objects that were still in the collection at the time of Christina's death and which are now part of the Patramonio Nacional and Museo del Prado. The project of making direct connections between items from the Roman inventories and later inventories of the collection taken by Christina's heirs or the Spanish crown is not without its difficulties. To take just one example, objects 25, 58, and 62-32 of the 1662 inventory, all describe a bust or head of Caracalla. Such identifications always have to be viewed with some room for error; the subject of a sculpture could easily be changed with the addition of a lion's skin, a laurel wreath, or a new nose, making accurate purchase counts and the development of a provenance for each object nearly impossible.

Similar problems arise when trying to pair items known to have been in Christina's Roman collection with objects the queen could have brought with her from Sweden. Because the 1662 inventory is the first complete account of what Christina owned in Rome, it is difficult to identify which items in the inventory may have been purchased in Rome between 1655 and 1662, and which objects were part of Christina's Swedish collections. The best account we have of the art works imported from Sweden comes from an Antwerp inventory of May of 1656, taken by the notary J.S. Le Rousseau with the help of Silvercroon and Barraza de Aguilar. After Christina decided to leave Sweden, she asked her staff to pack her books and art works. One hundred crates of art and objects from Stockholm were sent to Ostend on the ship Fortuna in 1653, accompanied by du Fresne.[245]

The majority of objects that traveled with the queen's immediate entourage on her journey to Rome remain unaccounted for. The *Inventaire des muebles et hardes,* compiled in Antwerp, lists 19 bronzes among the crates of paintings, furnishings, tapestries, books, globes and mathematical instruments but no marble sculptures are mentioned.[246] Among those bronzes there were “Onze anticques de bronze, grands et petits,” but further information on these objects is missing.[247] While these bronze sculptures listed as “antique” may have been ancient bronzes, it is equally possible that some or all of them were modern works after the antique in the style of De Vries or Antico. The sizes of the bronzes are not individually noted and the inventory does not specify subject matter, making an assessment of which antique bronzes in Christina’s Roman collections came with her from Sweden impossible.[248]

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[245] Rodén, *Politics and Culture,* 90.

[246] Nationalmuseum, *Christina of Sweden Personality of European Civilization*, 431, no.1043. Reproduced in Jean Denucé, "De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers," *Bronnen voor de Geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche Kunst* 2, (1932): 176-92. Also published in English translation: Jean Denucé, *The Antwerp Art-Galleries: Inventories of the Art-collections in Antwerp in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1932). Original document Antwerp State Archives, No. 2479, Year of Production 1656.

If Christina had already decided that Rome would be her eventual destination when she left Sweden, it seems logical that she would have left her cumbersome collection of assorted marbles there on the assumption that a quality collection could be built with ease once she resettled. Her correspondence with agents such as Palbitzki and Heinsius would have reinforced such a belief as their letters brim with descriptions of the many collections of antiquities throughout Italy which could be made available to her at a reasonable price. Although items from the Rockox collection were good pieces, none of the antique sculpture owned by Christina in Stockholm was of international acclaim or of especially fine quality that might warrant the costs associated with carrying it across Europe and storing it for an indefinite period of time.

We have relatively few records of what the queen paid for her antique marbles or other artworks but many of her best paintings, and a few of her most prized small antiquities, were pieces from the Prague booty that accompanied the queen to Rome. Sculptures such as a bust by

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[247] “Eleven antique bronzes, large and small.” The use of the term “anticques” was not always applied only to legitimately ancient works but, rather, was often used to describe pieces that looked antique. It is likely that some of the eleven bronzes were the type of small, classical sculptures that could typically have been found in a coin cabinet or a cabinet of curiosities such as the Augsburg Cabinet. The *Inventaire des mubles et hardes appertenants a sa Majeste la Seremissime Royne de Suede, que demeureront ent ceste ville d’Anvers* is reproduced in: Granberg, *Kejsar Rudolf II’s Konstkammare*, XLVII. See also: Denucé, *The Antwerp Art-galleries*, 176.

[248] This assumption is discussed briefly in: Leander Touati, A*ncient Sculptures in the Royal Museum*, 17-26.

Bernini, left to the queen in the artist's will, and an antique crouching Venus, formerly in the collection of Cardinal Azzolino, came into Christina's collection through personal relationships. It was widely acknowledged that the easiest, and least expensive way to acquire authentic ancient marbles was through the sponsorship of archaeological projects.

Christina is one of the only Early Modern women for whom we have evidence that papal archaeological permits were granted. It seems likely that these permissions and the idea to dig for new sculptural finds and coins was thanks to the expertise of people in Christina's advisors, such as Giovanni Pietro Bellori. Bellori would have been familiar with famous antiquities collections of the previous century, as well as comparable collections of painting and sculpture against which Christina's display would be measured. Prior to his employment by Christina in 1677, the scholar and collector was the librarian and antiquities advisor to Pope Clement X Altieri (1670-1676). His connections in the Vatican and involvement in the Roman art market provided him intimate knowledge of what was being unearthed in the city. The success of Christina's digs seems to have been middling at best. They resulted in the procurement of several antiquities for her collections but the best objects were stolen from the site before Christina ever knew of their existence.[249] She did acquire some lower quality fragments from the excavations but it is unknown if any were of sufficient worth to have been restored and displayed in her galleries. It seems probable that the finds made on her behalf are the same as some of the many marble body parts and architectural fragments located in her secret garden.

The collection of antique coins, Early Modern medals, and carved gems was less feasible to build through archaeological projects than a sculpture collection. Christina began rebuilding her collection of medals and coins in the 1670s and by the time of her death it was one of the finest in Rome. Christina's coin cabinets were developed by further acquisitions facilitated by advisors such as Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613-1696) and the medalists she patronized. Despite the many purchases she made in Rome, the most prized item in the queen's Roman coin cabinets remained a cameo that can be traced to Christina's Swedish collections. A 6.1 x 4.5" piece of carved sardonyx, made around the third century B.C.E. and now most frequently known as the Gonzaga Cameo, came to be in the queen's possession following the sack of Prague (Fig.16). The cameo's fame as war booty from the War of Mantuan Succession preceded its acquisition by Christina but it quickly became associated with the famed antiquities collections of the Swedish Queen. The cameo was reproduced along with a large collection of coins and portraits of emperors in Charles Patin's major work on Suetonius, printed in 1675 and dedicated to Christina.[250]

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[249] Masson, *Queen Christina,* 350.

Although the identification of the two figures depicted in profile on its face as Alexander the Great and Olympias likely heightened its appeal, it may have been the piece's inclusion in the collection of Isabella d'Este (1474-1539), the previous century's most famous female collector of antiquities, that appealed most to Christina.[251] Early Modern *studiolos,* coin cabinets, and *mauseums* were gendered spaces that typically belonged only to men.[252] Isabella was one of the only other women in the Early Modern period who was known throughout Europe for her patronage of art and music, her antiquities collections, and her *studiolo.*[253] Christina certainly would have been familiar with the Mantuan collections of Isabella. Christina was famous for her love of Titian, boasting 17 of them in her *stanza dei quadri,* and Isabella, along with her son, were two of the artist's most ardent patrons. Isabella's collection, which included multiple Titians, Michelangelo's cupid, and a large collection of antique marbles, was moved and subsequently dispersed in the first several decades of the seventeenth century.[254] The paintings were acquired by Cardinal Richelieu in 1627 and were taken to France where they were displayed for Louis XIV. Christina's artistic and intellectual ties through agents and courtiers in France, her extended stays at the French court in the decade after her abdication, and her love of Italian paintings would have ensured the queen at least a general familiarity with Isabella's famous Mantuan collection.[255]

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[250] Carolus Patinus, *Caii Suetonii Tranquilli Opera quae exstant. Carolus Patinus, doctor Medicus Parisiensis, notis & numismatibus illustravit, suisque sumptibus edidit.* Basileae: 1675.

[251] The cameo appears in a 1542 inventory of Isabella's collection compiled after her death and was taken to Prague after its capture by troops just prior to the start of the thirty years war. Jerome Jordan Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge University Press, 1986, 23-24.

[252] This gendering of collections, objects, and spaces has been discussed by Ago, Findlen, and others. In her text on Early Modern collecting, Paula Findlen specifically singles out Isabella and Christina as the only two Early Modern female collectors whose studies and cabinets were famous for their books, scientific objects, and antiquities. Findlen, *Possessing Nature*, 112.

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[253] Like Christina Isabella had an "insatiable desire" for objects of antiquity. She is frequently written about as a woman who collected only for social gain without understanding the broader academic significance of the pieces she owned. As a female collector, her motives have come under a great deal of scrutiny. Her contributions have been discussed, not for the way in which she participated in the male-driven collecting world, but as a fascinating abnormality in the history of antiquarian collecting. While the scale of Isabella's collection was unmatched for a woman in the sixteenth century, its nature was not entirely unique for the Early Modern period as seen in an exploration of Christina's collections. Isabella wrote of her own insatiable desire for antiquities, a line frequently quoted in reference to her collecting and patronage. Jane Couchman and Ann Crabb, *Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400-1700: Form and Persuasion* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing 2005), 123; Clifford Brown, '"Lo Inscaciabile Desiderio Nostro De Cose Antique' New Documents for Isabella d'Este's Collection of Antiquities," in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance,* ed. Cecil Clough (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 324-53. For more on Isabella's collection of antiquities see: Rosa Marie San Juan, "The Court Lady's Dilemma: Isabella d'Este and Art Collecting in the Renaissance," in *The Italian Renaissance,* ed. Paula Findlen (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 217-340.

[254] Stephen Campbell, *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 87-113.

[255] This connection between Isabella and Christina is something I hope to continue to investigate as this project evolves beyond the dissertation. In many ways, the two women's collections parallel one another closely with some objects, such as the Gonzaga cameo, having been owned by both.

It is likely scholars employed by Christina, such as Bellori, to whom we owe credit for many of Christina's antiquities purchases for the Palazzo Riario. Through Bellori's part in compiling the 1664 *Nota delli musei*, *librerie, galerie, et ornamenti di statue e pitture ne' palazzi, nelle case, e ne' giardini di Roma,* he also had a thorough understanding of the contents of Roman collections. This made Bellori privy to what might be available for purchase from existing collections. These inroads in the antiquities market made Bellori directly responsible for both the quality and quantity of items Christina was able to purchase. When considered on its own the final display created for Christina on the *piano terreno* of the Palazzo Riario was impressive. When viewed within the context of other displays of art and antiquities in the second half of the *settecento* in Rome, it is all the more remarkable.

The *Nota delli musei:* Christina's Collection Within the Context of Other Antiquarian Collections in Seventeenth-Century Rome

The first true guide to the collections in Rome was written by Ulisse Aldrovandi, a naturalist from Bologna, who published his *Delle statue antiche* in 1556.[256] By the mid-*seicento*, numerous guidebooks to the city's premier collections were in circulation. Members of the northern European nobility embarking on early versions of the Grand Tour would have purchased a guide, not only to important churches and monuments, but also to libraries and art collections owned by Roman families, lay and religious societies, confraternities, colleges, and civic bodies. In the mid-1600s, the best account of such collections comes from the *Nota,* a text attributed to Bellori, Christina's librarian and antiquarian, but written in part by Fioravante Martinelli.[257]

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[256] Ulisse Aldrovandi, "Delle statue antiche che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi e case si veggono," in *Le antichità de la città di Roma,* ed. Lucio Mauro (Venice: Appresso Giordano Ziletti, 1556).

The *Nota* is a self-described account of the most important collections in Rome.[258] The list chronicles 153 collections and is light on detailed descriptions of paintings, instead being heavily weighted toward discussion of libraries and antiquarian collections.[259] Some entries warrant only a short sentence describing their strengths while others have a more discursive account of the collection's provenance, contents, specialties, and the status of the collector who built it. Of those locations with collections deemed worthy of inclusion in the *Nota,* 34 were held by private, religious or civic institutions; 102 were owned by men and only three were owned by women.[260] Of the entries, 47 make specific mention of a collection of marbles and/or antiquities.[261]

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[257] There is some debate as to the authorship of portions of the text published with the *Nota* although lacking a certain re-attribution of the list in the text and basing this discussion on the fact that the text has long been referred to as Bellori's *Nota,* I will continue to refer to it as such. Whether the lists of museums, libraries, and palace collections were developed by Bellori or a fellow antiquarian such as Fioravante Martinelli (1599-1667) is of limited influence on the aspects of the text examined here. For a discussion of authorship see: Margaret Daly Davis, "Giovan Pietro Bellori and the 'Nota Delli Musei, Librerie, Galerie, Et Ornamenti Di Statue E Pitture Ne' Palazzi, Nelle Case, E Ne' Giardini Di Roma' Modern Libraries and Ancient Painting in Seicento Rome." *Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte* 68, no. 2 (2005); Stefano Pierguidi, "Due Autori per La Nota Delli Musei Del 1664: Giovanni Pietro Bellori E Fioravante 191-233Martinelli," *La Bibliofilía* 113, no. 2 (2011): 225-32.

[258] The descriptions provided in the *Nota* should only be taken as a guide as it is not a comprehensive assessment; the intent was not to inventory each location, but rather to provide a summary of the wealth of knowledge and art available in Rome and to make known the locations where one could find material worth seeking out.

[259] In the *Nota,* 98 of the collections were libraries or collections of books and manuscripts. Davis lists 165 collections in total. The discrepancy arises through my inclusion of separately listed gardens and palazzi by the same family as one collection. Margaret Daly Davis, "Giovan Pietro Bellori and the 'Nota Delli Musei," 191-233.

[260] Of the collections listed, 14 are given only a family name, meaning that they may also be representative of female members of the family owning a given collection but the women are not the sole owners, nor are they specifically responsible for the formation of the collections. The Pamphilj family, for instance, had a sizeable art collection, large portions of which were inherited by female members of the family. Although these women were owners of art, they were not the primary collectors of the family's antiquities.

[261] Because the author of the *Nota* is not always specific when they mention things like coins, cameos, or marbles as to whether or not these items are ancient, this should not be taken as an exact number of collections in Rome that

The other two women listed in the *Nota* were the Marchesa Christiana Angelelli and Felice Rondenini.[262] Most Roman women, like Angelelli, had collections primarily focused on paintings with any antique objects being Early Christian artifacts used as devotional items.[263] Felice's entry in the *Nota* describes a coin cabinet, claimed to have been created by the erudite genius of Felice herself, along with a collection of paintings.[264] It was possible for a woman to inherit antiquities from family members, so the ownership of such objects by Early Modern women was not uncommon. Large family collections were owned by women such as Olympia Aldobrandini Pamphilj and Camilla Borromeo, widow of Cesere Gonzaga, but neither appears to have shown special interest in the objects, their stewardship, or their display.[265] The legal transfer of a collection attached to a palace to a woman was also a common occurrence as seen in

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had antiquities and it is likely this number should be much higher. For the purposes of the current project I have only included in this count the collections where antiquities are specifically discussed or a collection of antiquarian objects such as gems, coins, cameos, and marbles is discussed in conjunction with a collection of books of classical authors suggesting a specifically antiquarian reading of the space is appropriate when considered along with what we know of the collector's personal interests and collecting history.

[262] See appendix for a description of Felice and Christiana's collections. For more on women as Early Modern collectors see: Ago, *Gusto for Things,* 2013.

[263] The entry on Angelelli begins by describing her as a religious woman, going on to describe her collection "monumenti di sacre antichità della primitiva Chiesa." Bellori, *Nota,* 8-9.

[264] Felice, also called Felice Zacchia, belonged to the wealthy Zacchia Rondenini family. The Rondenini residence on the Corso was in the center of Rome and became known for its art collection with a handful of notable pieces. They had multiple cardinals in the family but are now known almost exclusively for their associations with well-known works of art. Very little has been published about Felice aside from mentions stemming from her inclusion in the *Nota* and her ownership of a prized medal of the poet Ovid. The Ovid medal was known to have been the only ancient portrait of the poet, making Felice's cabinet a popular destination for numismatists visiting Rome. The family collection included well-known antiquities, some of which are now in the British Museum and the Glyptotheque in Munich. They also owned a collection of paintings by Titian, Jaccopo Bassano il Vecchio, and Giovanni Bellini. The Rondenini were mentioned by their family name in Bellori's *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni,*as owners of an excellent painting of a boy being bit by a crab from the painter Domenichino. Bellori, *Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni, vol. 2* (Pisa: Nicolo Capurro, 1821), 96; Franco Borsi, Gabriele Morolli, and Cristina Acidini, *Palazzo Rondenini*, (Rome: Editalia, 1983), 91-110. For more on the family collections and connections of the Zacchia Rondenini see: Antonio Zacchia Rondenini, *Memorie della famiglia Zacchia Rondenini; cenni storici e biografici, documenti* (Bologna: L. Parma, 1942).

[265] A 1682 Inventory of the collections she inherited is located in the Aldobrandini family archives in the Pamphilj Palace, Rome. This inventory lists Olympia's possessions and was partially reproduced in three parts in *Arte Antica e Moderna* in 1962 but the author notes that he could not list everything in the inventory and focused only on the paintings. Pages 683-714 of the inventory have not been published and list the "*statue antiche.*"

the case of Alfonsina Orsini d'Medici and her residence in the Palazzo Medici, now Palazzo Madama, as well as Margarita of Parma's acquisition of the same palace and its sculptures half a century later.[266]

Sculptors spouses, such as such as Anna Bellini, wife of Jacopo Bellini, and Costanza Piccolomini Bonarelli, the wife of Matteo Bonarelli, also inherited collections of classical fragments and plaster copies of great ancient marbles.[267] Even taking into account these other exceptional circumstances, Felice's coin cabinet remains the only group of antique objects known to have been collected by a woman in Rome in the 1600s aside from Queen Christina's.[268] In the queen's case, it was not only her interest in the collection and purchase of small, pretty things like coins and cameos, but also her interest in the acquisition and display of marbles and manuscripts that was exceptional for her gender. Her pursuit of antiquarian collecting was an aspect of her persona that undoubtedly fueled some of the gendered criticism she encountered throughout her life while being equally referenced in the endless praise she received for her education, taste, and intelligence.

As a queen's display, Christina's galleries would have been compared directly to those of other European rulers, particularly those in whose courts she had spent a significant amount of time such as Louis XIV. Within Rome her palace and the objects in it would have been compared not only to civic collections and the Vatican collections, but also to the displays created by members of the Roman nobility. These influential taste makers and churchmen traced their family lineage in the city back to Roman emperors or Romulus and Remus, and that lineage was illustrated for others in their displays of ancient civilizations' physical remains.[269] Many of these collections containing antique marbles, coins, cameos and gems would have been the local models with which Christina's display was compared. A brief overview of those collections is essential to developing an informed picture of the queen's display as it will illuminate the objects and individuals that she was in scholarly and artistic dialog with. This analysis can be found in the appendix.[270]

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[266] Spallanzani has published the inventory of Lorenzo the Magnificent from 1492 that lists the objects in Alfonsina's apartments at Poggio a Caiano. Marco Spallanzani, *Inventari medicei 1417-1465: Giovanni di Bicci, Cosimo e Lorenzo di Giovanni, Piero di Cosimo* (Firenze: Associazione amici del Bargello, 1996).

[267] Anna was named as recipient of such objects in her husband's will. On her management of the objects see: Patricia Fontini Brown, *Venice and Antiquity: The Venetian Sense of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 118. On Constanza and her inheritance of her husband's sculpture studio see: McPhee, *Bernini's Beloved*, 82-109.

[268] I have been unable to find a detailed study of Felice and her collections. This topic would greatly benefit from further research.

The Roman collections outlined by Bellori were of many different types and sizes, providing a comprehensive view of antiquities collections in Early Modern Rome. His descriptions of the objects in each collection varies between a passing reference to "antique objects" or "curious things" to descriptions that specify individual marbles, their provenance, location, restorations, and subject matter.[271] The entries that include specific references to antique works generally fall into one of six primary types that I have identified. These collection types could stand alone or be mixed and matched to form displays that focused on scholarship, material splendor, or leisure. Christina's displays in the Palazzo Riario represent one of the only collections in Rome that embodies almost all of these types of antique collecting.

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[269] Such attempts to visualize a familial or political connection to the past through objects was certainly not unique to Rome. Gáldy attributes the desire of Florentines to collect and display antiquities, at least in part, to the ideological purpose of archaeology which is concerned with origins and beginnings. Florentines, therefore, used objects from the classical past to aid in the contemporary fascination with the embellishment of their city's origins and the origins of the Tuscan people, using this to validate their perceived artistic and political supremacy. Gáldy, *Cosimo I de' Medici as Collector.*

[270] This is only meant to be a short summary of the most well-known collections with antiquities in Rome as they are described in the *Nota.* A great deal of further study on these collections and the networks of antiquarians working in Rome is needed as there is no modern text which outlines the state of antiquities collecting in the seventeenth century. Some collections that had a handful of antiquities may not appear on this list as entries such as the description of the collections such as those of the Lord of Arsoli and the Principe Camillo Pamphilj describe only "other statues" or "ornaments of statues and sculptures," not specifying whether the objects are ancient or modern. This account is, therefore, not meant to be a comprehensive analysis of everyone who owned antique marbles in Rome, but rather, it is an attempt to separate those collections that had a display of significant quality and/or quantity to be considered as moving in the same sphere of influence as Christina. For a more complete view of seventeenth-century Roman material culture and the collections listed in the appendix see: Ago, *Gusto for Things*; Jill Burke, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (London: Routledge, 2017); Maria Barbara Guerrieri Borsoi, *Raccogliere "curiosità" nella Roma barocca: Il Museo Magnini Rolandi e altre collezioni tra natura e arte* (Rome: Gangemi editore, 2014); Pompilio Totti, *Ritratto di Roma Moderna* (Rome, 1638); Anthony Majanlahti, *The Families Who Made Rome: A History and a Guide* (London: Pimlico, 2006); Wren Christian*, Empire Without End*; Ingo Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Hirmer, 1999); Findlen*, Possessing Nature*.

Table 2:Primary Types of Antiquities Collections in Seventeenth Century Rome

1. Established family collections that have been inherited in whole or in part.
2. Garden decorations.
3. Cabinets containing items such as coins or cameos.
4. Classical libraries that include manuscripts.
5. Architectural and sculptural decoration accenting courtyards and public spaces of a palace or villa.
6. Large collections installed in immersive displays generally accompanied by fresco cycles and an impressive painting collection.

Sitting on the Via Lungara, the Palazzo Riario was located directly across the street from the Villa Farnesina on the bank of the Tiber.[272] On the other side of the river, the walkway atop l'arco Farnese connects the waterfront to the walled gardens of the Farnese Palace. Christina's history in the Palazzo Farnese and its famed collections as well as the proximity of her residence on the Lungara to the Farnesina's elaborately frescoed rooms would have certainly invited both comparison and competition. The evaluation of Christina's galleries against those Roman families like the Farnese listed in the *Nota* does not seem to have been diminished by the fact that their collections were no longer being amassed. This is substantiated by the continued appearance of such collections in works produced after the family's peak period of acquisition. By and large, the Farnese marbles were still all on display in the grand gallery beneath the frescoed vaults and their collections receive three separate entries in the *Nota* despite the text being published 75 years after the death of Cardinal Alessandro (Fig.17).

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[271] These types have been developed by me and should not be taken as the only options for the display of antique objects. They are representative of data produced in my own detailed analysis of the *Nota* and its description of Roman collections.

[272] When referring to the palace as it existed in the seventeenth century I will refer to it by the name it held at that time. The palace still exists and is now called the Palazzo Corsini.

In the *Nota,* Christina's display is, understandably, the only royal collection. Along with the Vatican, her entry is among the longest descriptions provided. By the 1660s, Christina would have held a general familiarity with the works in every major noble household, religious collection, and scholarly display. The Early Modern arrangement of residential spaces operated on a far more nuanced and proscribed progression of public to private allowing for qualified study. This system within the homes of Rome's nobility allowed for those of appropriate means and status to view many of the collections presented in guides like the *Nota* and for comparative studies of those collections to fully develop and circulate in print.[273]

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[273] For a more detailed description of the function of private and public life as it relates to the architectural environment, particularly within the study of Early Modern women and their social and personal interactions within their environments, see: Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-century Roman palaces*: *use and the art of the plan* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990).

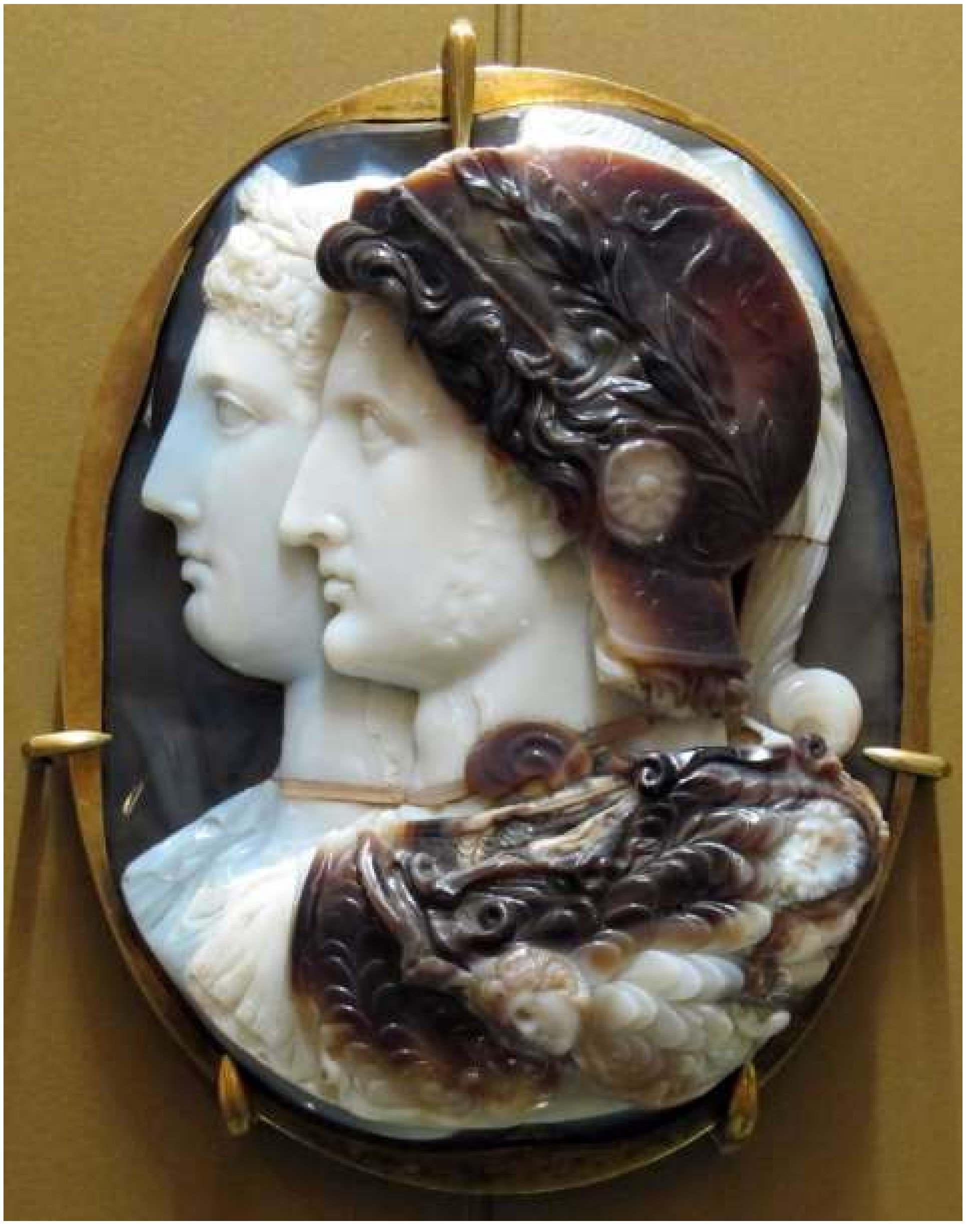

Figure 16: *Gonzaga Cameo.*
ca. 3rd century B.C.E., carved sardonyx, silver, and copper. Hermitage Museum,
St. Petersburg ГР-12678 (Photo: Sailko, Wikimedia Commons)

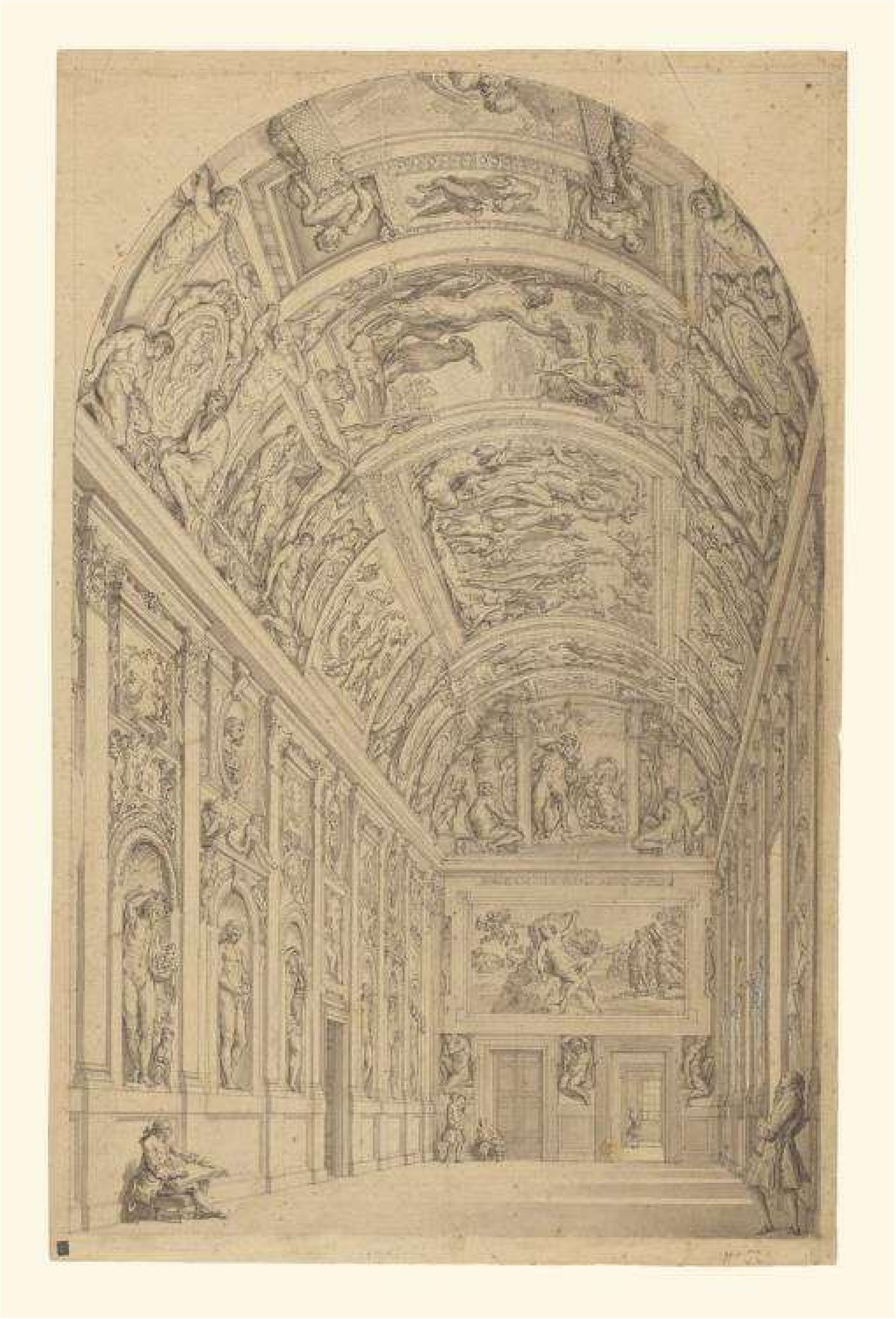

Figure 17: *View of the Farnese Gallery, Palazzo Farnese, Rome.*
Francesco Panini. ca. 1775, Pen and black ink with gray wash over black chalk, heightened with gouache and pricked for transfer. The J. Paul Getty Museum, 92.GG.16 (Photo: Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program)

The Palazzo Riario and the Reconstruction of Christina's Collections

For a significant amount of time after moving into the Riario Palace, Christina's actual residence was the casino at the back of the extensive gardens. From this lodging, located atop the Gianicolo on the current Piazzale Giuseppe Garibaldi, Christina would have seen her Roman palace directly juxtaposed to her former residence of the Palazzo Farnese across the river.[274] The dome of Sant' Andrea della Valle could be seen rising above the Farnese's porticoed garden façade. The low profile of the Pantheon's dome, visible to the left, would have drawn her eyes upward toward the imposing face of the Palazzo Quirinale which looked back at the queen across the center of Rome (Fig.18).

The Palazzo Riario's façade sits flush against the narrow street, meaning that the best views of the palace were on the garden side of the building. Coming into the palace from the main courtyard, visitors would arrive at a U-shaped, colonnaded portico that faced the slope of the Janiculum (Fig.19). Passing by the stairs that led to the floor above, they would enter the first of ten rooms in the summer apartments that served as display areas for the queen's collection of antique sculptures. The first room in the suite was referred to as the Hall of the Swiss, a reference to the presence of the Swiss Guard.[275] The other rooms are unnamed, typically known in contemporary scholarship only by the numbers assigned to them by a sequential ordering of the spaces. The notable exceptions to this are rooms five and six, respectively called the *Sala delle Muse* and the *Sala di Clytie*.[276]

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[274] On the move by Christina into her residence and the location of the casino as well as the renovations carried out for her see: Curt Weibull, *Queen Christina* (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget-Bonnier, 1966), 176-180; Giovanni Belardi, ed., *Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara*: *analisi di un restauro* (Rome: L'artistica Savigliano, 2001).

[275] The reference to this room's name appears in the inventory taken before 1689. The inventory begins with this room, proceeding through the rest of the suite room by room, indicating that the way someone was intended to move through the palace would have them arriving at Room One, the Room of the Swiss, first. This progression through the space will be reflected in the order in which I discuss each room in the following chapter.

The rooms on the ground floor were arranged in an L-shaped suite with the first, second, third, and fourth rooms running along the street-fronting wing of the palace. The fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth rooms of the *piano terreno* were in the left wing of the palace and were bounded on each side by the secret garden and the interior courtyard. There was an entrance to the garden from every room in the suite, creating a somewhat fluid indoor-outdoor exchange throughout the rooms that was enhanced by the painted landscapes on the walls of the galleries. The ninth and tenth rooms in the suite were smaller and not in line with the others. These spaces were accessible only through the eighth room or from the courtyard. Detailed notes from visitors to the palace during Christina's residency, which will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter, describe the installations in these rooms. These accounts follow the same general order beginning in the room of the Swiss, and ending at number ten, the bathroom.

Complications recreating Christina's early Roman collections on the *piano terreno* stem from a variety of factors. Objects such as antique heads may be listed as such on early inventories, but after being married to modern or restored antique bodies, they seemingly disappear from subsequent inventories. Such changes can be misleading when counting the numbers of purchases made in a given period, making it impossible to know the exact number of sculptures Christina purchased. Given the seventeenth-century interest in antique pastiches, restorations, and antique fragments, this sort of alteration of objects was likely. The presence of a school for sculpture on the grounds of the queen's palace would additionally have made the presence of restored marbles and pastiches constructed out of fragments a near certainty. The school was located behind the palace on the north side of the property but relatively little is known about the artists working there and the works produced on the grounds.[277]

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[276] The only other exception to this is the self-descriptive "bathroom," which was the final room in the suite and is alternately labeled as room number ten.

Descriptions of the objects on display in each room differ slightly. This ambiguity is partially the result of changes to the collections over time; examples include, newly purchased objects, the addition or removal of limbs and supports of existing sculptures, differences in nomenclature (a Venus versus an Aphrodite or a Clitia versus a Daphne, for instance), and the inconsistencies of memories and experiences of multiple viewers. Based on the extant objects in Spain, descriptions of Christina's collection while it was in situ at the Palazzo Riario, and the general taste of the period, we know that most of the sculptures she owned were displayed in a more or less restored state.

Most of Christina's marbles were purchased by Elizabetta Farnese and her husband Philip V of Spain through a sale from the Odescalchi in 1723-24. The purchase was facilitated by the Cardinal Aquaviva in Rome and was finalized after the Spanish queen decided that the purchase of Christina's marbles en-masse was the most effective way to decorate the newly completed palace and grounds of the royal residence of la Granja of San Ildefonso (Fig.20).[278] A set of drawings made after Christina's antiquities were sent to Spain was produced for Elizabetta by Abbot Eutichio Ajello.[279] The manuscript, referred to as the *Cuaderno de Ajello,* includes comments and drawings of items displayed, providing us with documentation of seventeenth-century plaster and marble interventions that have been altered or removed in the intervening centuries.[280] These drawings are invaluable in matching some of the descriptions in the Rome inventories to the extant marbles. The inventory descriptions focus primarily on the objects' material, height, subjects, and select physical features including attributes and objects held by the sculpted figures. Almost all of these aspects of the objects are features that may have been significantly altered between the time of their display in the Palazzo Riario and the present day.

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[277] On the sculptural academy on the grounds of the Palazzo Riario see: Enzo Borsellino, *Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara: storia di un cantiere* (Fasano: Schena, 1988), 42-43.

[278] The sculptures that were purchased by Elizabetta and Phillip V from Christina's heirs were primarily intended to decorate the gardens and ground floor rooms of the royal country palace at San Ildefonso. It does not seem that the Spanish crown's interest in Christina's collection was foremost an academic one, but rather, the sculptures were acquired for their social prestige and aesthetic value. The eighteenth-century preference for palatial decoration was not for the rustic *non-finito* of archaeological finds but for complete sculptures or pastiches of antique work modified with contemporary plaster additions. Barba, *Las Esculturas,* 13-14. On the decoration of la Granja see: María Jesús Herrero Sanz, "Localización de las esculturas del palacio real de La Granja de San Ildefonso según los inventarios reales," *Reales Sitios*, xxxvii, n.º 144, (2000): 14-25; María Jesús Herrero Sanz, "Recorrido de la escultura clásica en el palacio de San Ildefonso a través de los inventarios reales," in *El coleccionismo de escultura clásica en España. Actas del simposio*, eds. Fernando Checa and Stephan F. Schröder (Madrid, Museo del Prado, 2002), 239-258; José María Luzón Nogué, "Isabel de Farnesio y la galería de esculturas de San Ildefonso," cat. exp.,

The account of the collection at la Granja includes 67 columns, and 50 standing statues in addition to several crates of heads, busts, and reliefs. An earlier list generated and signed by Cardinal Camillo Rusconi, just before works were sold to Spain, groups the objects by the rooms in which they were displayed by the Odescalchi, listing only reliefs, busts, standing statues and

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El Real Sitio de La Granja de San Ildefonso. Retrato y escena del rey (Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, 2000), 203-219.

[279] These drawings are of great help in reconstructing items from the collection as they arrived in Spain. There is some amount of uncertainty regarding the fate of other objects listed in early inventories and descriptions that cannot be identified in the museum's holdings and items which were either not inherited by the Odescalchi or were sold off separately by Azzolino's nephew when he inherited the queen's estate. There are also issues in separating items purchased by the Odescalchi from other sources that may have been sold along with Christina's marbles, and items from Christina's collection that were not included in the sale to Spain.

[280] A good deal of material has been published on the Spain sale but very little of it has been made available in English. For discussion of the sale see: T. Montanari, "La dispersione delle collezioni di Cristina di Svezia. Gli Azzolino, gli Ottoboni, gli Odescalchi," in *Storia dell'Arte* 90 (1997): 250-300; Leticia Azcue Brea, "El origen de las colecciones de escultura del Museo del Prado: El Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura," in *El Taller Europeo: Intercambios, influjos y préstamos en la escultura moderna europea* (Valladolid: Museo Nacional de Escultura, 2012), 73-110; Patrimonio Nacional, *El Real Sitio de La Granja de San Ildefonso: retrato y escena del rey* (Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional: 2000); Mercedes Simal López, "Marmi per la decorazione del palazzo della Granja de San Ildefonso, residenza di Filippo V e Elisabetta Farnese," in *Splendor marmoris: i colori del marmo, tra Roma e l'Europa,* ed. Grégoire Extermann (Madrid: De Luca editori d'arte, 2016); Stephan Schröder and Miguel Ángel Elvira Barba, "Eutichio Ajello (1711-1793) y su descripción de la célebre Real Galería de San Idelfonso," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* XXIV, (2006): 40-88.

columns.[281] This list accounts for 125 standing figures and busts and 81 columns.[282] A list of antique sculptures and marbles in the Palazzo Riario compiled by myself through extensive use of documents in the archives of Sweden's Nationalmuseum, the available inventories, descriptions of the palace, and the catalogs produced in Spain, has resulted in an accounting of the following items in Christina's collection at the time of her death in 1689.

Table 3: Antique Objects in Christina's Collection in 1689

A minimum of 80 columns.
27 reliefs, tables, vases and altars.
86 standing or seated sculptures.
95 heads or busts.
Unspecified numbers of architectural and sculptural fragments.
Unspecified numbers of classical manuscripts, antique cameos, carved gems, coins, and small bronzes.

This analysis has concluded that, not counting the dozens of unspecified fragments, architectural pieces, and the contents of Christina's well-appointed coin cabinets, her display at the Palazzo Riario contained at least 208 sculptural marbles that were ancient, restored antique fragments, or copies after the antique.[283] The correlations between this number and the numbers of items included on the *liste de embarque* composed when the collection was sent to Spain would seem to confirm that all but about 16 of the antique sculptures or works *all'antica* displayed in the galleries of the Palazzo Riario were sold to Spain by the Odescalchi. The lower quality contents of the gardens and the architectural fragments appear to have been sold off elsewhere. The next chapter will address the subjects, locations, and programs of these ancient marbles in the Palazzo Riario, exploring how their installations reflected themes of knowledge, kingship, and mythology, some of which have already been addressed within the context of the queen's earlier collecting activity in Sweden.

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[281] This list is typically referred to as the *liste de embarque* and is reproduced by Barba. While useful this list cannot be taken as a full account of the sculptures owned by Christina as it lists only those items not already dispersed by Pompeo Azzolino or the Odescalchi, and there can be no guarantee that other items purchased by the Odescalchi were added to the lot. Barba, *Esculturas,* 35-69.

[282] Letter and inventory dated September 4th 1724. Original in the Odesclchi Archives, Rome. Low-qualilty reproduction available at Nationalmuseum Myndighetsarkivet, Drottning Christina 1966 exhibition records, box: Odescalchi I.

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[283] This count is comprised of both items listed in the galleries and in the garden. There were 70 busts listed in the galleries with at least 25 in the gardens. There were 51 standing or seated sculptures in the galleries with at least 35 in the garden. There were at least 75 columns in the galleries with five in the garden. There were at least 18 reliefs, altars, vases, and tables in the galleries and at least nine of those items in the garden. Some of the objects from the garden could conceivably have also been later improved or restored which is why I have allowed that these numbers should be considered flexible.

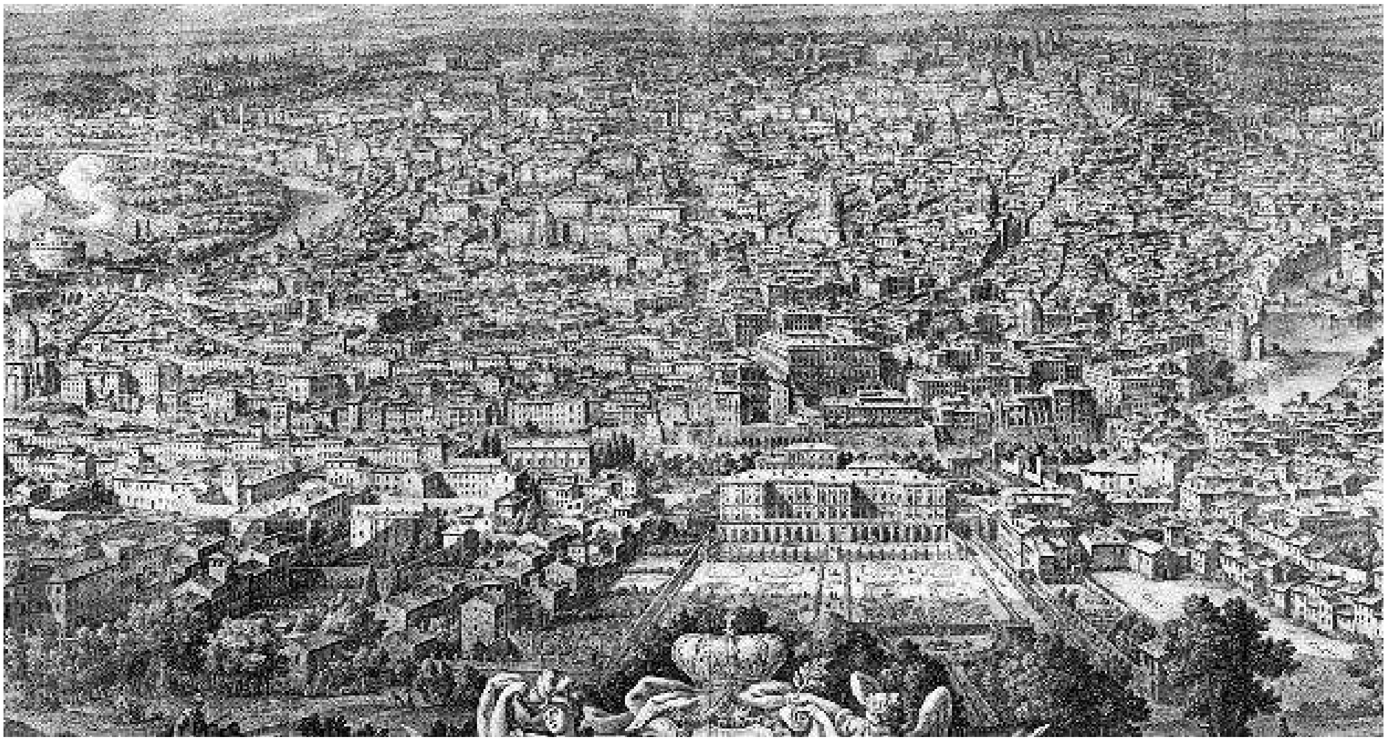

Figure 18: *Prospetto dell'alma citta di roma dal monte gianicolo.* Giuseppe Vasi. 1765, etching on twelve joined sheets of laid paper. Private Collection (Photo: Piraneseum, digital gallery)

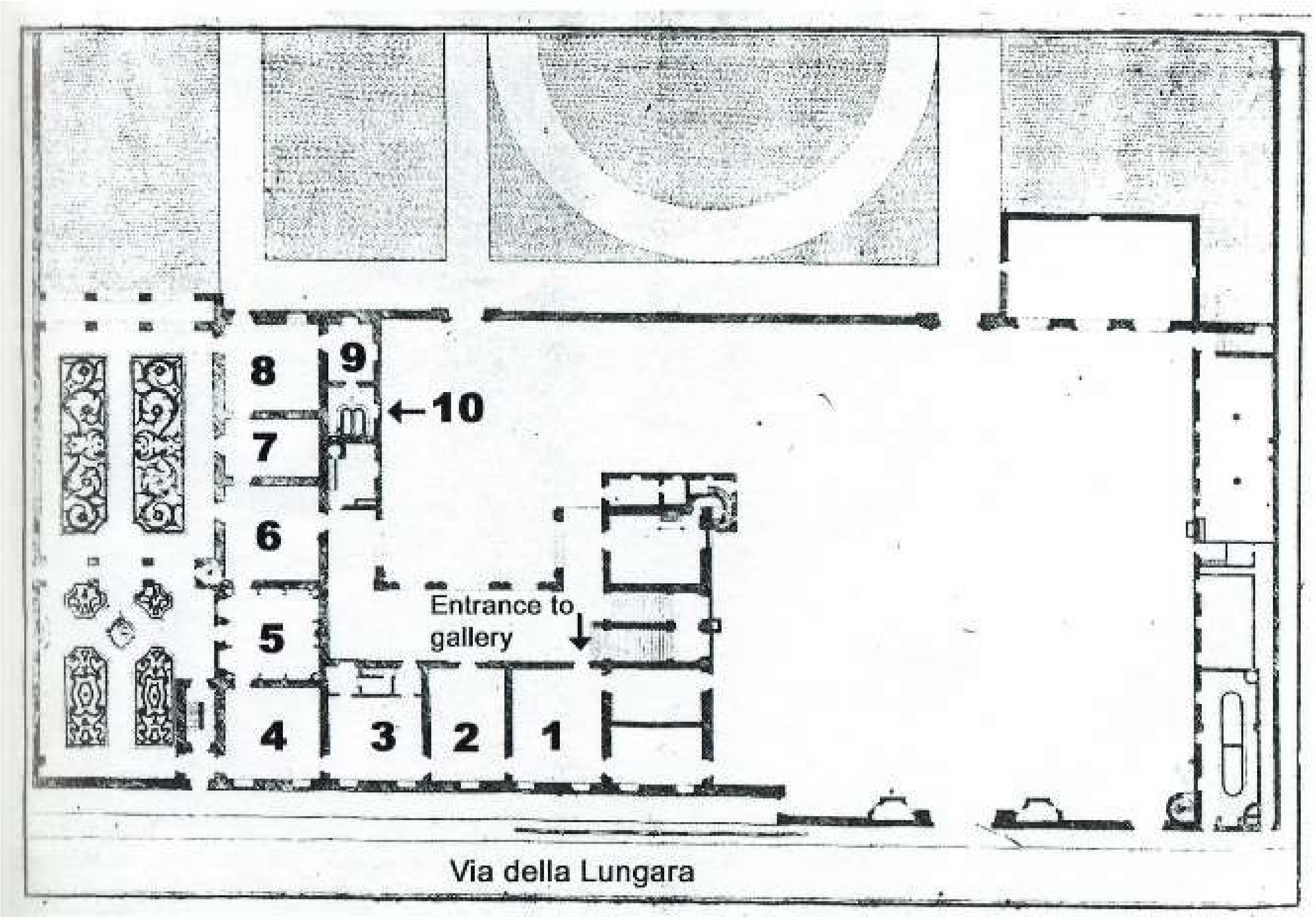
8
9
←10
7
6
Entrance to gallery
5
4
3
2
1
Via della Lungara

Figure 19: *Ground Floor, Palazzo Riario. Plan.*
(Photo: Author. Image from the Nationalmuseum exhibition records archive.
Creator, Stephanie Walker)

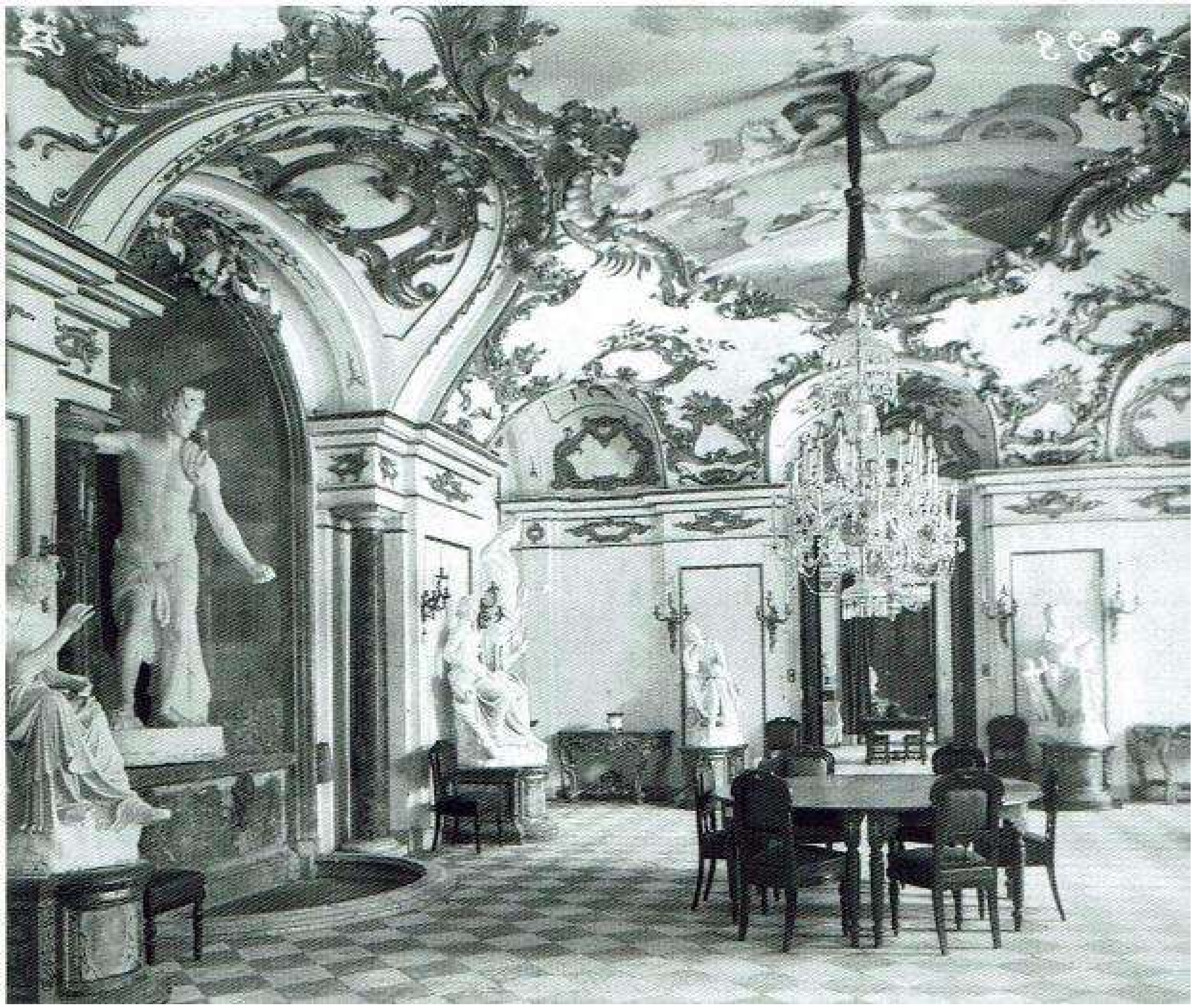

Figure 20: *Installation of Christina's Marbles at la Granja.*
Mid-twentieth century undated photo. la Granja, Spain (Photo: Author. Image in the Swedish Nationalmuseum photo archive exhibition records.)

Chapter Four
Antique Sculpture in the Palazzo Riario

Christina's Roman Sculpture Collection Circa 1689

Some of the best accounts of Christina's collection come from foreign travelers. One of the most informative and compelling of these visitor descriptions was written by the Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. He visited Christina's Roman court on a trip undertaken between 1687 and 1688 during which he compiled in his travel notes a detailed description of what he saw in her palace.[284] The following account of Christina's collections, is compiled from his notes along with other descriptions such as Fioravante Martinell's 1644 *Roma ricercata,* Pietro de Sebastiani's 1683 *Viaggio Curioso* de*' Palazzi e Ville Più Notabili di Roma,* and Mårten Törnhielm's travel diary entries of 1687.[285] Additionally, the inventory of the Palazzo Riario made prior to 1689 helps to complete the picture of what a visitor to Christina's palace might have experienced.[286] Because accounts by Tessin and others proceed sequentially through the rooms of the *piano terreno*, I will use a similar approach here. The aim is to reconstruct the display of the antique sculpture collection with some degree of accuracy.[287]

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[284] Tessin's travel journal entry describing the collection was printed by Granberg as "Utdrag af då varande Kammarherren Nicod. Tessins andra resa uti Italien 1688, agående Dr. Christina's samlingar uti det af Henne hyrde Palazet Riari, nu Corsini vid gatan Lungara i Rom." Olof Granberg, *Drottning Kristinas tafvelgalleri på Stockholms slott och i Rom, dess uppkomst och dess öden ända till våra dagar: en historisk-konstkritisk undersökning,* (Stockholm: I. Haeggström ,1896), 175-180.

[285] Fioravante Martinell*, Roma ricercata nel suo sito, e nella scuola di tutti gli antiquarij* (Rome, 1644). Pietro de Sebastiani, *Viaggio Curioso* de*' Palazzi e Ville Più Notabili di Roma* (Rome: Per il Moneta, 1683), 13-15. A brief description of the collection is listed under "Palazzo della Regina Cristina" and is accessible in full text at https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_EEa--nWDnxAC. For more on Törnhielm's accounts see: Carl Nordenfalk, "Realism and Idealism in the Roman Portraits of Queen Christina of Sweden," in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th Birthday,* ed. Michael Kitson and John Shearman (London: 1967), 122-129.

[286] Some amount of time must have passed between Tessin's visit to the palace and the completion of the inventory reproduced by Boyer for which we do not have a certain date. Additional archival work on the purchases made late in Christina's life may help to more securely date the inventory. Published in part in: Boyer, "Les antiques de Christine de Suède a Rome," 254-67.

From descriptions of the galleries we can imagine a suite of rooms that gave an impression of magnificence, provided a fluid interplay between indoor and outdoor spaces, and introduced visitors to the queen systematically through a carefully constructed program of allegorical, historical, and mythological imagery. The items placed inside the galleries on the *piano terreno* appear to have all been of relatively high quality and it is generally noted as an exception when a piece was displayed in a broken or incomplete state. Even the most well-preserved Roman statuary unearthed in the Early Modern period, such as the Laocoön, required some amount of intervention at the hands of a sculptor to complete the work for display. Despite a general preference in the period for restored antique pieces, it was not uncommon to present exceptional but incomplete antique fragments such as the Belvedere Torso. Christina's displays followed this trend with a mixture of finished work and desirable fragments coexisting in the formal space of the galleries. The majority of the pieces, both restored and fragmentary, were place on pedestals, plinths, feet, or columns, elevating them from the floor and singling them out as unique works to be considered both as a group and as individuals.

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[287] Suggested attributions of objects noted in inventories and descriptions of the space to existing objects are based on my own analysis of these resources, material analyzed in the photo archives of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, and the published catalogs of the Museo del Prado, Madrid.

Supports

Many of the bases for Christina's sculpture collection were made in conjunction with their installation in the Palazzo Riario. Although inventories provide differing levels of description of the objects in the collection, all of them take pains to include basic information on the pedestals, plinths, and bases (*piedestalli, pedducci, zoccoli*) of each object listed. These supports are mentioned in a handful of accounts of the collection's later installation in Spain. Several of them remain at the Royal Palace at La Granja where Christina's antiquities were initially displayed following their sale.[288] Almost all of the sculptures were matched with bases of a similar, though usually less expensive, material. The inventories additionally note when the base of an object was made of antique marble, that is, marble quarried in antiquity and re-purposed as a sculptural base in the *settecento.* Both ancient works and contemporary sculptures were displayed on such bases.

After an analysis of which sculptures in the display on the *piano terreno* had antique stone bases, it would appear that the use of such material was usually a deliberate choice. The antique marble was meant to elevate, both literally and figuratively, modern works such as the bust of Christina in room nine, as well as the higher quality antique restorations by well-known contemporary sculptors. Object heights provided in inventories typically include the base in their estimate of an item's dimensions, indicating that these supports were seen as integral and semipermanent extensions of the sculpture.[289] Throughout the travel notes and the inventories, sculptures are often grouped according to their supports which would most likely have indicated to viewers that those objects should be considered together as a conceptual or typological unit. Most of Christina's columns, capitals, inscriptions, and other architectural fragments are missing from the handful of analysis of her antiquities collections that have been published making further suggestions in this area mere speculation at this juncture.

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[288] The items sent to Spain were initially housed in the garden and ground floor rooms of the Royal Palace at La Granja. They were largely figural sculptures, busts, reliefs, and columns. Many of these included the bases created for the sculptures when they belonged to Christina. The only published research on the pedestals and bases in Christina's collection is with regard only to their later Spanish setting. Rosario Coppel Areizaga, "Algunos relieves que decoraban los pedestals de las estatuas de la reina Cristina de Suecia y del príncipe Livio Odescalchi en el Palacio de La Granja" *Archivo Espanol de Arte* 279, October/December (1997): 310-315.

While also not widely commented on in scholarship, records do exist for the large collection of at least 80 columns of varying heights and materials that are listed in the inventories as having been located throughout the palace. While 73 complete columns can be counted in the Rome inventory from before 1689, the Odescalchi inventory from 1713/14 lists 81 columns. The discrepancy can be attributed to the fact that many of these items were smaller *colonnette* that may have been overlooked, moved, or added as supports after their transfer to Christina's heirs. Many of the queen's antique *colonnette* are not called *colonne* at all and are instead described in the inventories as *zoccoli con capitelli* or simply as *piedestali,* as they served as supports for the queen's large collection of busts.[290] Because they were used as both sculptural bases and as architectural accents, the antique columns were more evenly distributed throughout the palace than most of the other marbles which remained grouped in the ground floor rooms and gardens. In the following discussion of those ground floor rooms, I have made an effort to note bases of particular interest or importance. The descriptions of each room will focus on recreating major themes evident in each space through an analysis of the works displayed and their seventeenth century identifications.[291]

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[289] The heights provided in the inventories are all in *palmi romano*. They are inexact and vary from inventory to inventory even when we know that a given sculpture did not change in its composition or support between the creations of said inventories. For this reason, and the fact that most of the items in Spain have been removed from their Early Modern bases, I have not based my assessments of which sculptures can be matched to extant items in Spain based solely off of measurements. When I do make note of relative size, my descriptions are based on the scale: 1 palmo romano = 22.3cm = 8.78in.

[290] The correlation between the 70-95 busts in the collection and the 80 or so columns counted is, therefore, not coincidental.

Room One

In the first room, one of four that ran parallel to the street across the front of the palace, were at least 15 marbles. Drawing visitors into the room with his right arm stretched upward was a colossal standing statue of Apollo. The figure functioned as a surrogate for the Sun Queen, welcoming viewers to the apartments that housed her summer throne room. The Apollo additionally established a theme of Parnassus that would continue throughout the ground floor sculpture galleries.[292] Tessin describes the first room and those that followed as having walls painted with landscapes.[293] The painted environment would have created the feeling of walking through a garden full of sculpture. This theme which was juxtaposed with the real space of the secret garden located adjacent to rooms four through eight of the palace's left wing which included Christina's famed *Sale delle Muse*.

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[291] By "seventeenth century identification," I mean the subject that the piece was restored to depict or the subject that visitors believed the sculpture to show during Christina's lifetime. Many of the pieces have subsequently had their attributes removed or have been re-anylized and given titles that more accurately reflect the ancient subject they were originally meant to portray.

[292] This is likely the same as the Prado's E-4 although two other antique standing marbles in the Prado collection, E-97 and E-155 have also been identified as images of Apollo. A fourth Apollo sculpture appeared in room five of the ground floor suite but was a seated, seventeenth-century figure.

[293] The language used is unclear as to whether only the first room and the adjoining one or all of the subsequent spaces were frescoed similarly. Tessin mentions frescoed walls or ceilings specifically in rooms one, two, five, and six but based on these descriptions it seems reasonable to assume that the landscape paintings continued in most rooms throughout the ground floor apartments.

The other works in the first room were arranged around its show piece, a slightly larger than life-size reclining figure identified as Cleopatra. Her sandaled feet are crossed, one arm lazily bent, resting over her head as she lays on her back. Her heavily-draped legs and torso are juxtaposed with bare breasts which give the work a slightly voyeuristic quality as the viewer's eye moves up to her sleeping face, propped and framed by her other hand. The Cleopatra's marble base was decorated with antique bas-reliefs of a Bacchanal giving the impression that maybe the sleeping figure has retired after enjoying such exertions (Fig.21).[294] On either side of the Cleopatra, complementing the Bacchanalian themes on her base, were a pair of satyrs standing as herms with Early Modern interventions.[295]

The appearance of Cleopatra at the entrance to Christina's ground floor suite echoes the combination of classical knowledge and queenship presented to Christina in the ephemeral decorations created for her arrival at the Collegium Romanum after her move to Rome. Such a classical paragon of female power, particularly a foreign Queen famous in the early modern period for her wit, charm, and deference to Rome rather than her looks, seems a fitting figure to welcome visitors to the Swedish Queen's palace.[296] The subjects of the rest of the sculptures in the first room are poorly documented and it is difficult to positively identify them with specific extant pieces. There was a standing youth, four busts displayed on top of small columns, and three other standing statues, the subjects of which are unknown. The first room is typical of the rest in the suite in this respect. Most accounts of the suite describe in detail only a handful of the twelve to thirty marbles placed in each room, listing most in highly generalized terms or in groups of like objects.[297]

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[294] This work is now classified as a Sleeping Ariadne Prado- E-167. Barba, *Las esculturas,* 48,76,148; Robert Ricard, *Marbres Antiques*, 66; Eduardo Barrón, *Catálogo de la Escultura*, 129-130, n.167. A more complete list of bibliographic entries is available for each of the 35 pieces of Christina's collection available on the Prado's website. For the sake of brevity those citations as well as the specific lines of the Tessin account and the Riario and Odescalchi inventories are not cited here as they are each relatively brief and the full text citation is provided.

[295] Odescalchi Inventory 1713/1714, folio 8v. Possibly the same sculptures as Prado nos. E-368 and E-75.

[296] Shakespeare's Cleopatra was first staged in the first decade of the seventeenth century. While earlier depictions of the Queen focused on the sensual aspects of her relationship with Cesar and Marc Antony, many early modern writers looked to sources such as Plutarch, taking a more sympathetic view of Cleopatra's political maneuvering. There may be interesting parallels to explore between Christina's status as a northern "other" and the racial prejudices that colored depictions of Cleopatra in many early sources. For a description of this issue as it relates to the Early Modern reception of Cleopatra see: Joyce Green MacDonald, *Women and Race in Early Modern Texts.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 21-44.

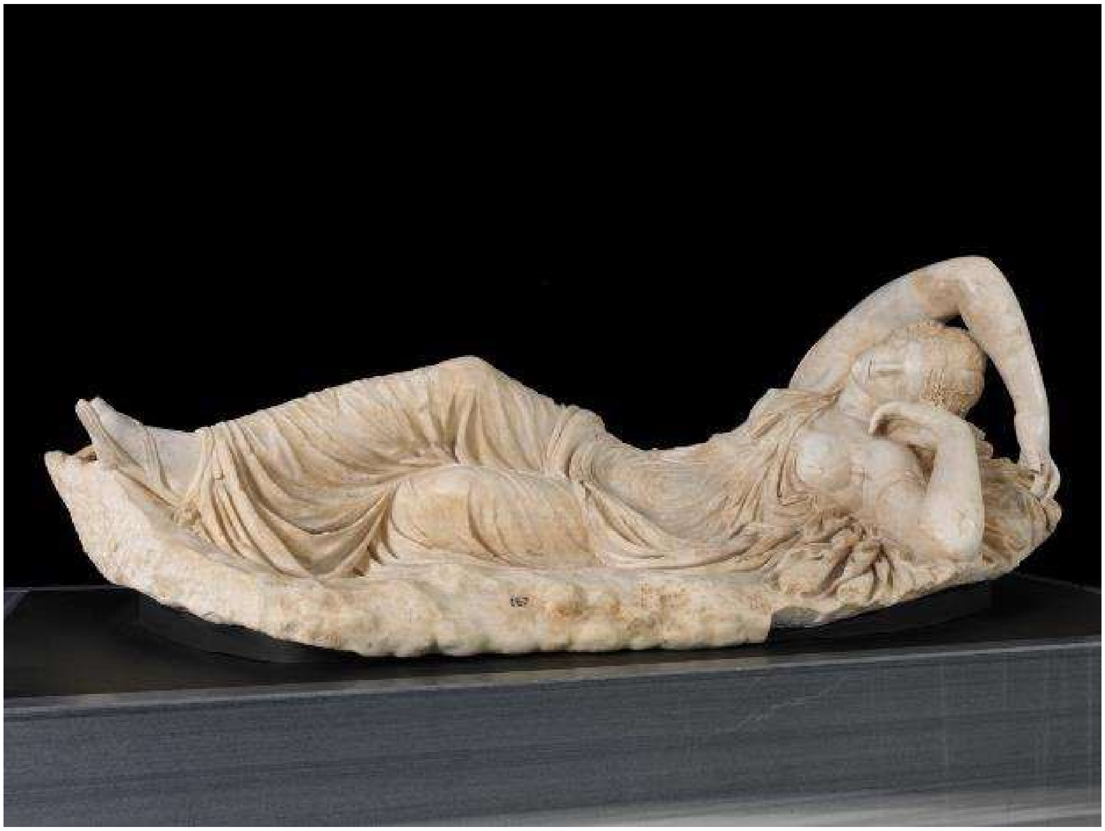

Figure 21: *Cleopatra/Sleeping Ariadne.*
150-175 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-167 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

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[297] With additional time spent in the Prado, it may be possible to further identify works in each room through a detailed process of comparison and elimination. This more complete accounting of each room is a facet of the dissertation project that I hope to continue working on in the future.

Room Two

In the second room a monumental statue, which cannot be matched to one currently in the Prado, was identified as Rome. It stood over seven feet tall and would have visually dominated the space. He wore a helmet, his chest decorated with a bas-relief of the head of Medusa. Around this figure were an assortment of marbles which elicited comparatively little reaction from most visitors. Tessin's account states only that the room contained "4 statues, 6 busts, and 8 other busts on columns." Other accounts and the inventories differ slightly from Tessin's description with respect to the number of full-sized statues in the room. Despite this brevity, the modest descriptions available provide enough information that the room can be partially reconstructed. The six busts were of indeterminate subjects. Standing nearby was a nude female figure atop a pedestal. Together the female statue and her base rose to a height of over seven feet with an equally-sized figure of a man wearing drapery described as that of a consular Greek likely serving as a pendant to her. This "Consular Greek" was initially identified in the before 1689 inventory as a "Giulio Cesare" and is now refered to by the Prado as a veiled and togate Augustus (Fig.24).[298] There was also a male nude with a putto and a Flora.

Two of the standing statues were of emperors, one of which was a seventeenth-century work after the antique wearing a crown of laurels on his head. These can two can be identified as two larger than life-size standing marbles in the Prado collections (Figs.22, 23).[299] The first of these imperial figures wears a curia's with a relief of Apollo and three graces in the center. A carved drapery hangs loosely around his waist and over his left arm, and he wears elaborate sandals, holding a baton slightly outstretched in each hand. The seventeenth-century figure, which wears the laurel, raises his right arm above his head holding a baton while extending his left hand forward holding a small orb. It seems likely that he was commissioned as a pendant figure to the other emperor. Unlike the military dress worn by his counterpart, the modern statue is mostly nude and his dynamically sculpted physique is highlighted. His bare lower-torso would have been placed at eye-level once erected on his base.[300] A drapery is loosely slung over his left arm, winding low around his pelvis and slipping down to cover his legs to just above the knee.

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[298] Prado, E-170. Odescalchi 1713/14 inventory, fol. 9v.

[299] These are Prado numbers E-166 and E-168. The Museo del Prado lists E-166 as a seventeenth century figure but portions of the marble appear to be re-worked antique fragments with a seventeenth-century head and arms.

The second room was completed by a sculptural group featuring a nude female with a crown and a snake. She was accompanied by a putto standing atop a ball appeared on the corner of her base.[301] This figural group, like the statue described above as “Rome,” is one of several sculptures mentioned in Christina’s collections that cannot be traced to a similar piece now in Spain. The relatively small number of works in this room was balanced by the scale of the figural sculptures. Throughout the apartments, sculptures were often placed in pairs or small groups according to thematic reasoning or aesthetic balance. The statues of emperors in the second room and the militaristic personification of Rome were obviously grouped together for the former reason, making for an imposing presence of imperial rulership in the space. Particularly due to the low ceiling height on the *piano terreno* relative to the rooms above on the *piano nobile,* the visitor's experience with the large-scale sculptures in this room would have been both impressive and intimate.

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[300] The ante-1689 inventory describes only one of the emperors in this room, mentioning the laureled figure; however, the Odescalchi Inventory expands on the description, helping to confirm that the statue with a laurel was one and the same as the figure now identified in the Prado as an Augustus. Odescalchi Inventory, no. 28.

[301] The “Nude with Putto” is the same as Prado E-224, now identified as a Paris or Adonis. The “Flora” is likely E-20 or E-186 in the Prado.

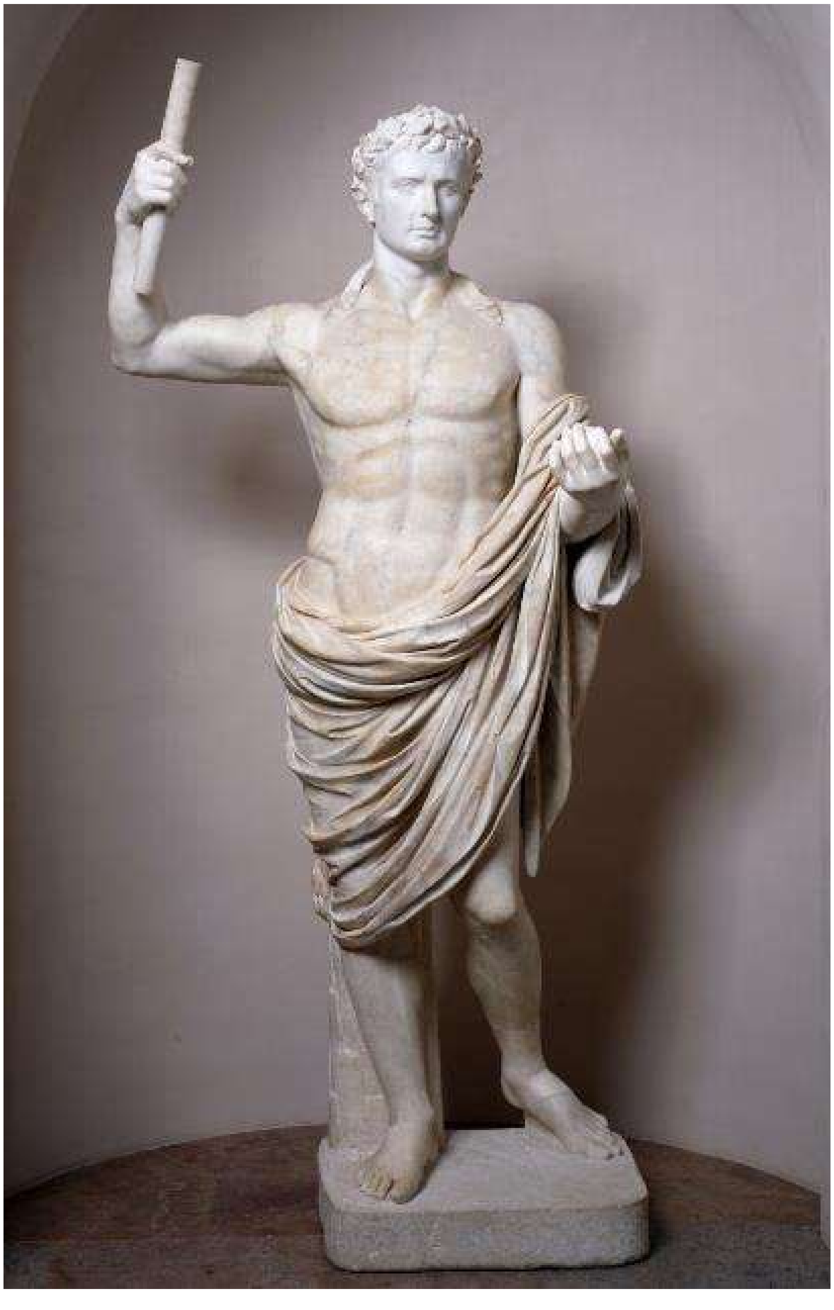

Figure 22: *Emperor/Deified Emperor.*
17th c. with posible antique torso. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-166 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

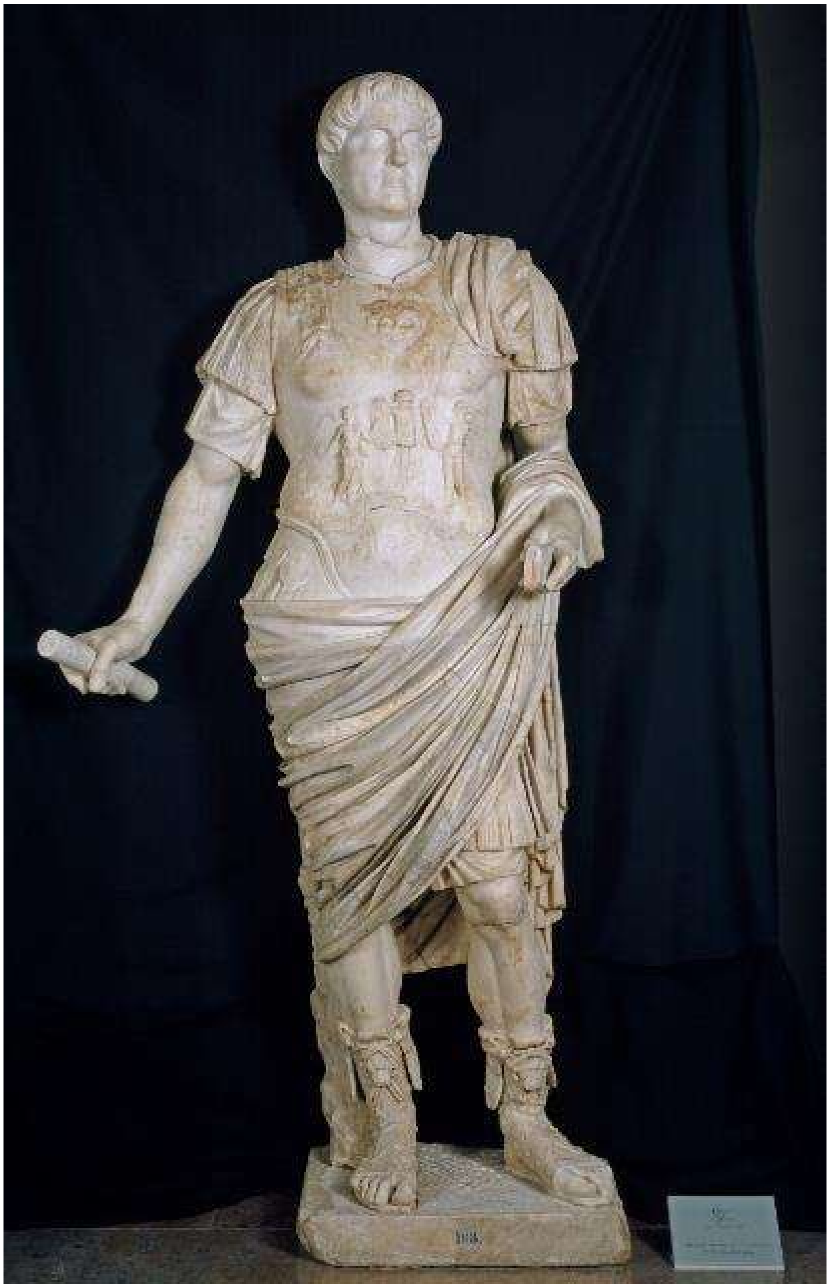

Figure 23: *Emperor/Trajan (?) in Military Costume.*
c. 100 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-168 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

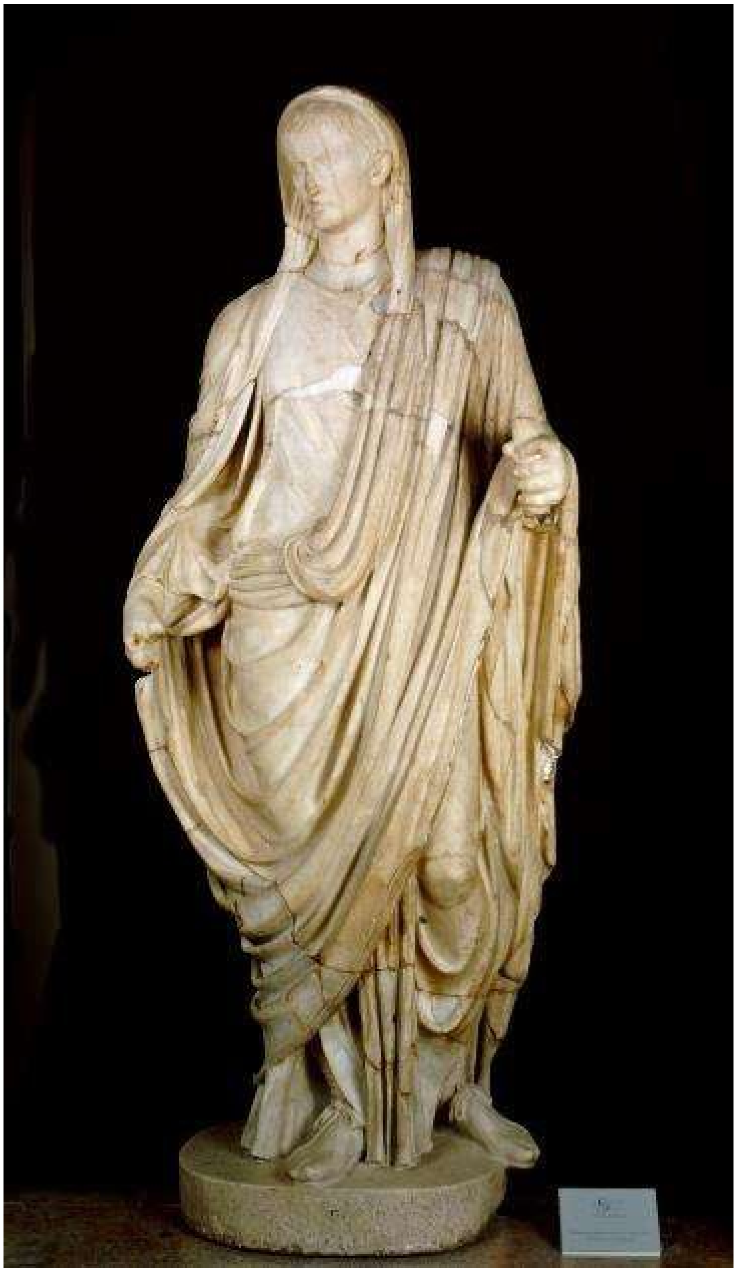

Figure 24: Consular Greek/Augustus Wearing a Toga.
First third of the 2nd century C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-170
(Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Room Three

The third room held a large collection of 18 busts in varying types of stone and in many stages of repair. Eight of those busts are described by Tessin as sitting on columns.[302] Of those eight, four were made of white marble. The other four were in mixed stone with two identified as goddesses that had white marble heads on dark, *bigio antico* draped busts. The other two mixed-stone busts were a *breccia antica* bust with a *bigio antica* head and a white marble head on a bust made of alabaster. The other 10 busts in the room are listed in small groups of one to three busts each. Groupings of several busts, all on antique columns or on pedestals made of similar stone, indicated that those items were displayed together in a room or that they were intended to be considered as a single unit within that room's program. These groups would have likely been presented together as types, the most common types being philosophers, emperors, goddesses, or great Greek and Roman men.[303]

In addition to the set of busts with columnar supports, the third room in the suite featured a headless porphyry bust with a bas-relief of Medusa on it. There were also three broken male heads, two without busts and all but one without a base.[304] There was a group of three draped white marble busts on bases of *bigio antico* placed near two white marble busts on bases of *giallo antico.* Consistently, Christina's sculptures were placed in thematic pairings, seen already in the Roman emperors in room number two, or in groups, as seen in how inventories and descriptions indicate grouping room number three's busts. The large collection of busts in the third room was interspersed with standing statues of women all of which may have been restored to represent the goddess Flora.[305] One of these figures has a restored head not expertly matched to her body. The statue holds a cornucopia of flowers which she rests on the head of a small child who may have represented Plutus in its original antique context (Fig.25).[306] Her dress is unlike that of the other female sculptures in the room as it obscures the body beneath. Its heavy drape and indelicate lines appear too bulky for the delicately carved floral attribute and head attached to it.

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[302] The 1689 inventory similarly separates eight busts as a group that was either displayed together or was alike in some manner. Their commonality is likely the fact that they were on columnar bases as described by Tessin.

[303] Restorations and alterations to fit the desired themes were frequent but only occasionally are interventions noted in accounts of the display. In looking at the extant heads and busts in the portions of Christina's collection that are now in Spain, several are Renaissance and Baroque works after the antique. The inventories for the collection only mention whether whole sculptures were restorations and rarely note whether busts are antique or modern unless they are particularly fine ancient pieces or particularly well-done pastiches. For the purposes of this recreation of the contents of Christina's display and its Early Modern appearance, I have not found it necessary to to and differentiate antiquities from pastiches, restorations, and works *all-antica* if such distinctions were not made by viewers in the period.

The other female statues in the room were also draped figures executed in white marble. One wore a laurel crown and held a branch of laurel in her hand; the second held a budding branch. The third female marble is the only one mentioned without a specific iconography associated with it, making its connection to with Flora uncertain. The goddess Flora appears many times in the rooms of the *piano terreno* and was a popular theme in seventeenth-century humanist circles. Her most common Early Modern aspects, Flora Primavera and Flora Meratrix,

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[304] These fragmentary male busts were listed in the before 1689 inventory but do not appear in descriptions of the collection by Tessin and others. This may mean that the objects were only in the room temporarily or that they were restored between the creation of the inventory and the writing of visitor accounts.

[305] It is not possible to identify all of these sculptures in the current collections as some of the identifying attributes may have been lost, removed, or changed. The identification of antique pieces was only loosely based on analysis of portraits from antique coins in the case of busts. More frequently, subject matter was based on what would sell best, what would fill out a collection most effectively. This meant that a sculpture's subject could be controlled easily through additions and alterations by contemporary sculptors.

[306] This description matches the Prado's sculpture now identified as Fortuna/Tyche, Prado E-186.

held Renaissance associations with fertility and maternity, or, conversely, with lurid behavior and prostitution. With respect to the queen whose palace these Flora statues were displayed in, a projection of marital themes related to fertility seems out of place as Christina famously never married or produced children. An alternate reading of the imagery as a reference to lascivious ancient festivals associated with the goddess are similarly incongruous with the themes that appear in other rooms of Christina's sculpture gallery. When paired with high-quality busts and figures of Rome and the Emperors in the previous room, the Flora sculptures in rooms two and three can be seen to fit more clearly within broader overtures of rulership, Parnassus, and knowledge seen throughout in Christina's apartments.

The repeated appearance of Flora in the ground floor suite may more appropriately be understood in the context of her mid-sixteenth-century presence in imagery depicted as a queen, sewing seeds of botanical and scientific discovery. Instead of the Flora of Ovid and Botticelli, the sixteenth century saw the Goddess framed as a queen of knowledge. It is in this aspect of benevolent patroness of natural wisdom that Flora appeared in the frontispieces of a myriad of botanical texts produced throughout Europe in the 1600s. I believe that it is likely this updated, humanistic ideal of Flora's fecundity, spreading the pursuit of scientific knowledge, that was the theme conveyed to visitors in Christina's antique sculpture galleries.[307] Such a reading of the space is substantiated by the interplay between outdoor and indoor spaces throughout the ground floor rooms, enhanced by the painted landscapes which featured a variety of flora. Christina and her circle would have been well versed in the interplay of botanical themes and antique art as the nearest noble collection of antiquities to the Palazzo Riario, also situated in a palace on the Lungara was the famed Corvini collection which featured gardens that housed both antiquities and a myriad of botanical curiosities.

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[307] A more in-depth discussion of the goddess' changing appearance in terms of gender norms, science, and iconography can be found in: Ann Shteir, "Iconographies of Flora: the goddess of flowers in the cultural history of botany" in *Figuring it Out: Science, Gender, and Visual Culture*, eds. Ann B. Shteir and Bernard V. Lightman (Hannover: Dartmouth College Press, 2006), 3-27.

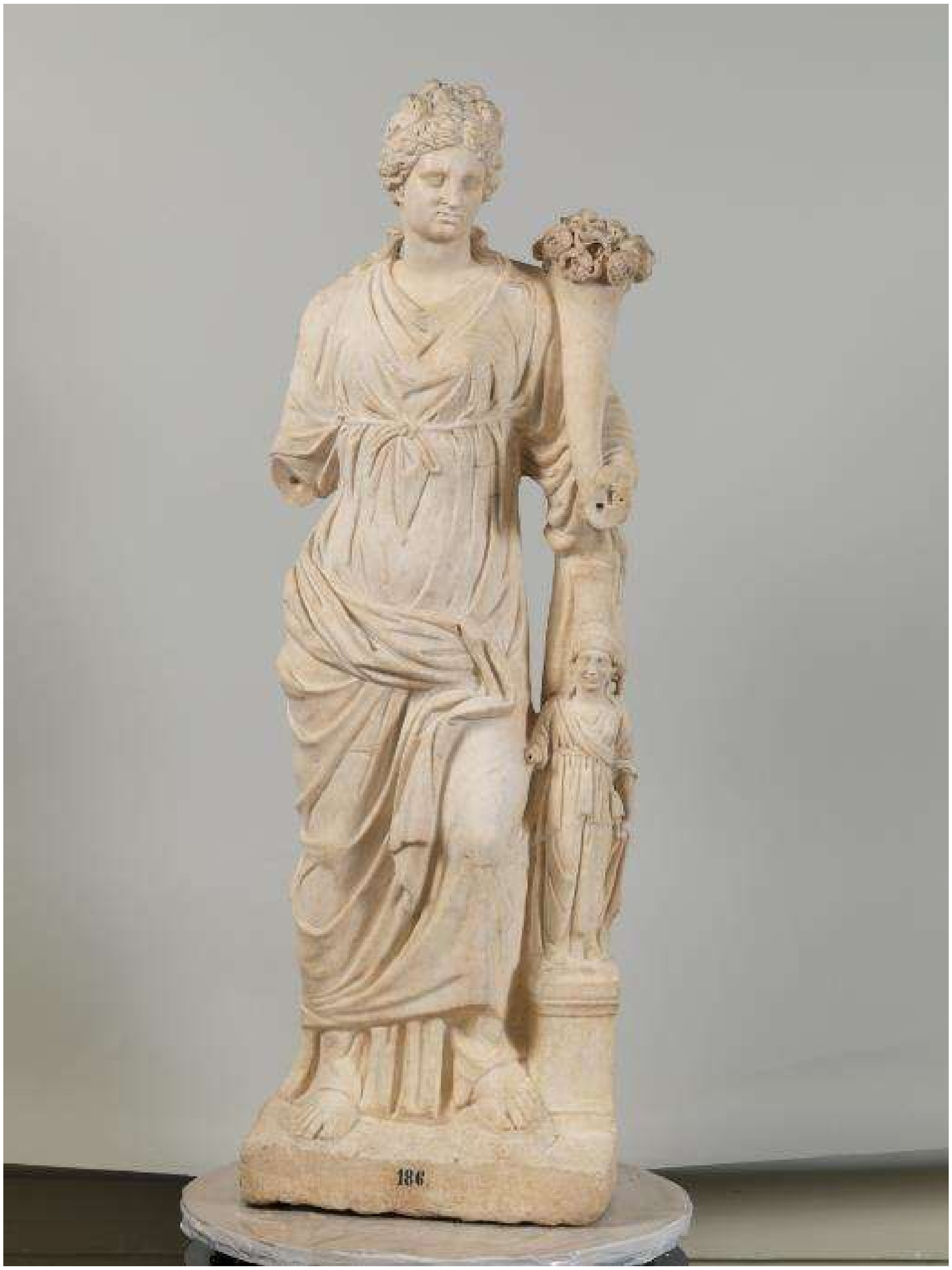

Figure 25: *Flora/Fortuna-Tyche.*
ca. 100, marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-186 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Room Four

In the fourth room, the sculptures were of high material and artistic value. Consequently, they are described by the Early Modern sources in some detail. In this space the more feminine imagery of Flora from room three gave way to a display of masculine power and knowledge. There were eight busts displayed on eight columns as in the previous room. Six of the busts were white marble with the remaining two composed of white marble heads with alabaster busts. Tessin only mentions four full-length statues, but at least six distinct full-size works are documented to have been displayed in the room at different points in time.[308] Tessin is careful to distinguish that the most important of those he saw was a Julius Caesar, (Fig.26) although, in his opinion, a Faun was the best sculpture in the room. Sadly, the faun does not seem to have survived intact with the rest of the collections.

The work referred to as a Caesar, now called a Tiberius, was made of a mix of alabaster carved in antiquity and seventeenth-century alabaster work with bronze additions.[309] The seventeenth-century head, arms, and legs were of gilt bronze and a large fibula made of amethyst was attached to the alabaster drapery over his right shoulder.[310] This piece, and several others in Christina's collection, were made in the manner of sculptor Nicolas Cordier (1567–1612) also known as "il Franciosino." Unlike other largely modern works built around an antique torso, such as the Clytia in room six, the name of the contemporary sculptor responsible for the Caesar is not provided in descriptions or inventories and no provenance before its incorporation into Christina's collections is known.[311] The other large statues in the fourth room included a white marble figure holding a cornucopia of fruit, and a male in white marble holding spears in his right hand, and a seated statue of Seneca with an antique head and a modern body.

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[308] The before-1689 inventory also lists four standing statues including the Caesar. However, none of these could be mistaken for a Faun. It is possible that this statue was moved after Tessin's visit or, if the inventory was taken earlier than previously thought, that it was added to the room after the inventory was drawn up.

[309] The Prado has dated the Tiberius to circa 1610-12, with the oriental alabaster torso re-purposed from an unknown antique source. The work is now Prado E-112. The Inventory of the Royal Museums in Spain taken in 1857, lists the work using both terms, calling it, "Una estatua de Tiberio Cesar." Inventario Real Museo, 1857. No. 43.

[310] The Tiberius is Prado, E-112. Museo Nacional del Prado, *Catálogo de la escultura de época moderna. Museo del Prado: siglos XVI-XVIII*, Museo del Prado: Fundación Marce, Madrid, 1998, pp. 338-339; Barba, *Las esculturas,* 60; Simal López, *'Marmi per la decorazione del palazzo,* 233-257.

A fully nude Hercules completed the room (Fig.27).[312] The muscular, bearded marble Hercules, just under life-size, leans against a tree trunk, his club in his right hand and the lion skin draped over his left arm.[313] The Prado collection has three standing, nude, antique marble statues of Hercules from Christina's collection, one of which was likely among the earliest Roman purchases of antiquities made by the queen.[314] A set of tapestries featuring the labours of Hercules accompanied Christina from Sweden to Rome, and she appeared frequently associated with his attributes in allegorical prints. Hercules's appearance in later seventeenth-century texts by Rudbek and others placed him as an integral part of revised Swedish histories. The demi-god's relationship to Christina is a theme that will be addressed in chapters five and six, but given that Christina's father was often shown in the allegorical guise of Hercules, and it was through her father that she inherited her power, it is unsurprising to find multiple antique and modern variations of the hero in the queen's Roman sculpture galleries.

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[311] While the works are similar to other re-worked antique alabaster sculptures made by Cordier, it has not yet been securely traced to his workshop. A pendant sculpture to this piece, also made of bronze and alabaster, was made after the collection's transfer to the Odescalchi and is identified as an Augustus, Prado, E-174.

[312] The Seneca is mentioned in the Odescalchi inventory of 1713/14 as follows: "Vicino alla prima Colonna é una figurina sedente di marmo bianco vestita scoperta perè di petto rappresentante un Seneca ristaurata di Testa e verso li piedi alta palmi due, e mezza di buona maniera antica posa da figurina sopra un piedestallo di legno intagliato alto palmi quattro e mezzo." This description is in line with the majority of the inventory notes on heavily restored works. Odescalchi Inventory 1713/14 fol. 23v.

[313] This Hercules is Prado E-101. The Odescalchi Inventory from 1713/1714 specifies that this is a "Statua antica di perfetissma maniera al naturale." Odescalchi Inventory, fol. 455. For additional information on the E-101 Hercules see: Schröder, *Catálogo de la escultura clásica,* 338-341; Prado, *Catálogo de la Escultura, por A. Blanco*, 74.

[314] The 1662 inventory lists "*Una Statua d'un Ercole di palmi sette incirca sopra un Scabelletto.*" The statue of Hercules is number 48 in the 1662 inventory and could correspond to either E-101 or E-108 in the Prado collection. With such a general description, it is impossible to know which of the Prado's Hercules sculptures entered Christina's Roman collection first.

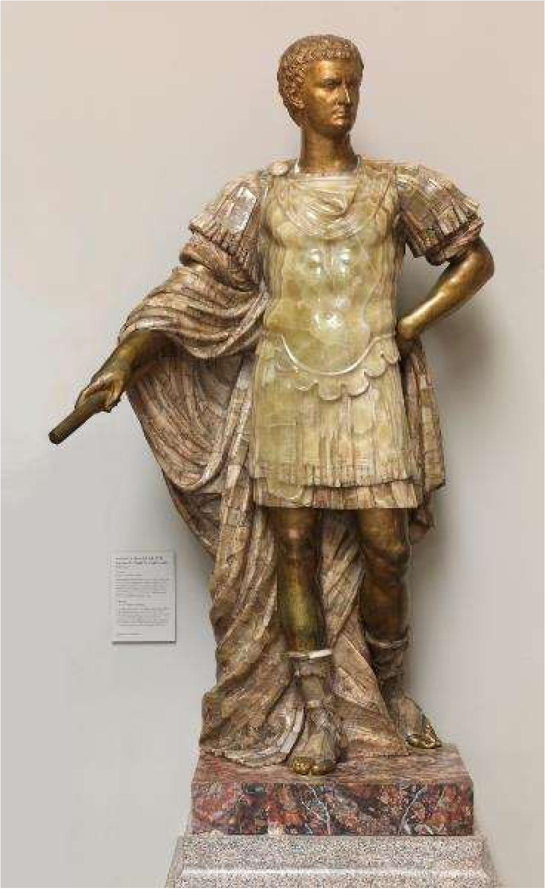

Figure 26: *Julius Caesar/Tiberius.*
Workshop of Nicolas Cordier. 1610-1612 with ancient roman alabaster bust, alabaster and gilt bronze. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-112 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

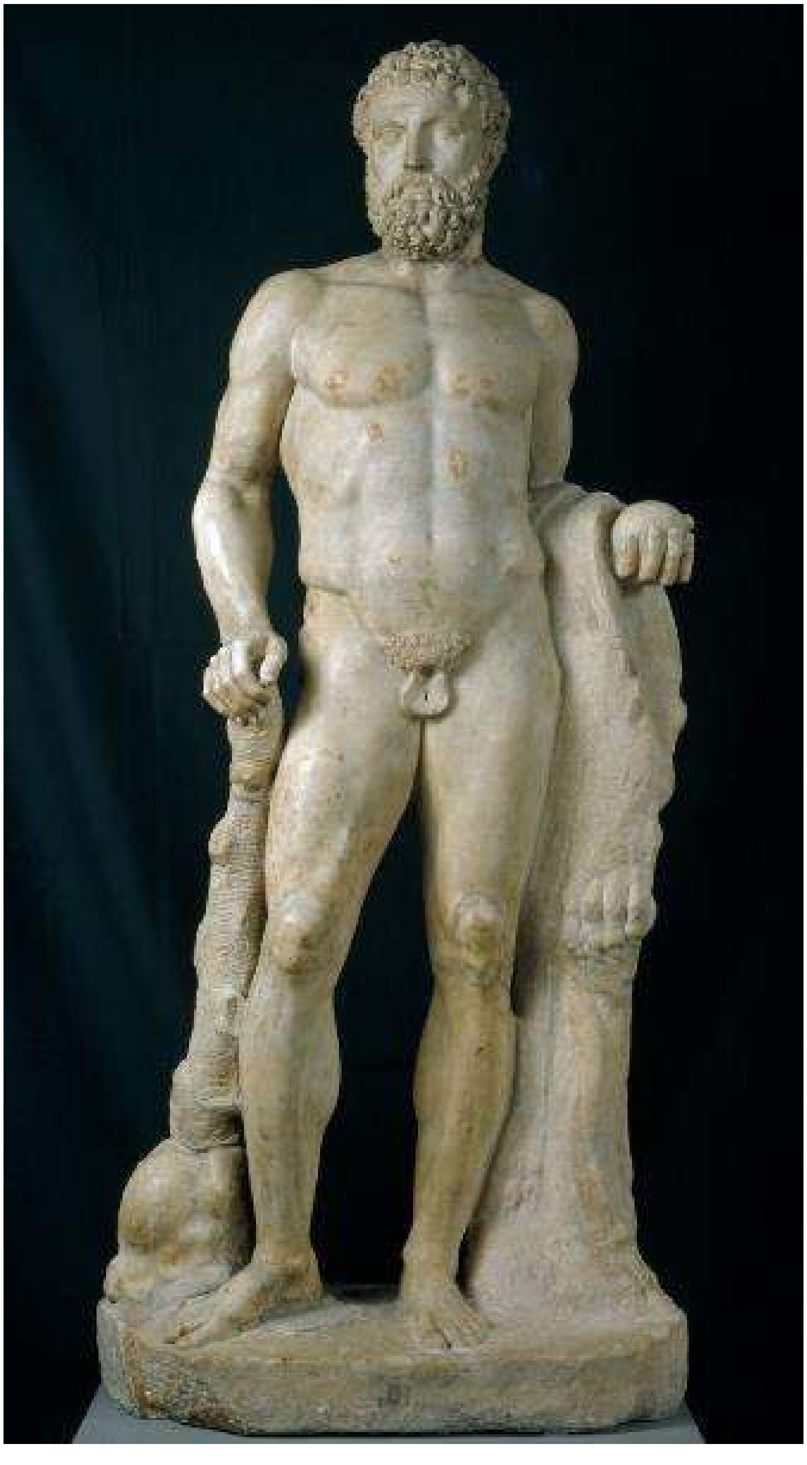

Figure 27: *Hercules.*
Mid 2nd century C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-101 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Room Five

The fifth room was also known as the hall of the Muses and is the most well understood and well published room in the suite. All of the sculptures in it can be readily identified with extant pieces. It served as a symbolic throne room for the queen and was the most architecturally significant of the rooms with sixteen tall, flecked yellow antique marble columns supporting a non-structural architrave that encircled the room.[315] A set of eight marble muses interspersed with the columns was the focus of the space. The set was missing the ninth muse and was found at Hadrian's Villa in the 1500s. In the eighteenth century, the new Museo Pio Clementino at the Vatican would become famous for its room of muses but it was Christina's display in the Palazzo Riario which first gained international fame. Christina's muses were heavily restored and Tessin mentions that the heads and hands were nearly all contemporary additions. The ante-1689 inventory is more specific, stating that only two of the muses still had their antique faces (Fig.28).[316]

The colonnade which projected into the fifth room in front of paintings with fictive landscapes, would have been in visual and conceptual dialogue with Baldassare Peruzzi's famous frescoes depicting a landscape viewed through a colonnade surrounded by mythological scenes across the street in the Villa Farnesina (Fig.29). Instead of *trompe l'oeil* architecture,

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[315] For a brief survey on the hall of the muses and its function see: Walker, "The Sculpture Gallery of Prince Livio Odescalchi," 189, 198-199; Zirpolo, "Severed Torsos and Metaphorical Transformations," 29-53; Zirpolo, "Christina of Sweden's Patronage of Bernini," 38-43.

[316] The restorations were carried out by the workshop of Ercole Ferrata. Many of the Early Modern additions were removed in more recent installations, making the Abbot's set of drawings in the *Cuaderno* produced after the arrival of the muses in Spain a valuable resource for reconstructing identifying characteristics of each sculpture and recreating how they might have looked at Christina's court. Barba, *Las esculturas,* 28-29, 158-174.

Christina’s hall was decorated with the real antique columns that alternated with her seated muses around the perimeter of the room (Fig.30). The bases, capitals, cornices, and architraves were gilded to show wealth and create a shining golden homage to the sun god. Painted landscapes surrounding the muses placed the viewer inside a temple-like space atop Mt. Parnassus in the company of Apollo and his muses.[317] A seated Apollo appeared alongside the group in the form of a baroque statue after the antique by the sculptor Francesco Maria Nocchieri (Fig.31).[318] According to Tessin’s account of the room, there were mirrors next to the doorway that opened to the garden. The Apollo was at the center of the room opposite Christina’s throne, placing the figure of the sun god in learned conversation with the queen.[319]

Parnassus was a widely-utilized theme for rulers wanting to highlight their court as a center of music, art, poetry and learning. Statuary groups featuring Apollo, the muses and Mt. Parnassus were popular in later-sixteenth and seventeenth-century decorative programs, appearing in the gardens of the Villa Madama, two d’Este villas, the Villa Aldobrandini, the Villa Lante, the Villa Mattei and others.[320] The *sala delle Muse* took the more typical garden setting and brought it indoors transforming the contemplative aspects of such an arrangement into an environment that highlighted knowledge, power, and patronage without removing the objects entirely from expected contexts.[321]

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[317] This observation is my own but other descriptions of Christina’s court Parnassus can be found in Zirpolo, “Severed Torsos and Metaphorical Transformations,” 29-53; Steneberg, "Le Blon*,* Quellinus*,* Millich,” 332-364.

[318] Now in Spain, Patrimonio Nacional no. 10027548.

[319] Lilian Zirpolo, *Ave Papa/Ace Papabile: The Sacchetti Family, their Art Patronage, and Political Aspirations*, (Toronto: Center for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 148, n. 20.

[320] Elisabeth MacDougall, *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994), 121.

Christina was associated with Apollo through her planned sculptural displays in Stockholm and via programs of revisionist Swedish historicism that will be addressed in the next chapter. Within her Roman context, her construction of Mt. Parnassus in the Palazzo Riario was a deliberate attempt to assert historical legitimacy through antique authority as noble Roman families and popes had done before her. Living on the same side of the Tiber as the Vatican, Christina would have been aware of Apollonian themes appropriated by the Renaissance Papacy. The popes often exploited the palimpsest of history on the Vatican hill. A blend of classical, Early Christian, and humanist-driven visual programs represented the popes as patrons of the arts and tied their power to the temple of Apollo that was thought to have been on the site of St Peter's Basilica.[322] Christina's room of antique columns and muses placed the queen and visitors within her palace in a fictive temple not unlike the one that was believed to have stood nearby on the Vatican Hill.

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[321] Christina's allegorical placement among the Roman Gods through the imagery associated with Apollo, was amplified in her establishment of a court Parnassus both in Rome and in Stockholm. I believe that despite a stark lack of evidence that Christina employed the same objects in both her Swedish and Roman residences, it can be proven that the intent behind her acquisition and display was similar in both contexts.

[322] The theme of Apollo's light of wisdom was highlighted by artists such as Raphael in his frescoed Parnassus in the Papal apartments. The temple was mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalus* but its existence has largely been proven to have been a Renaissance fabrication. William Tronzo ed., *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 34.

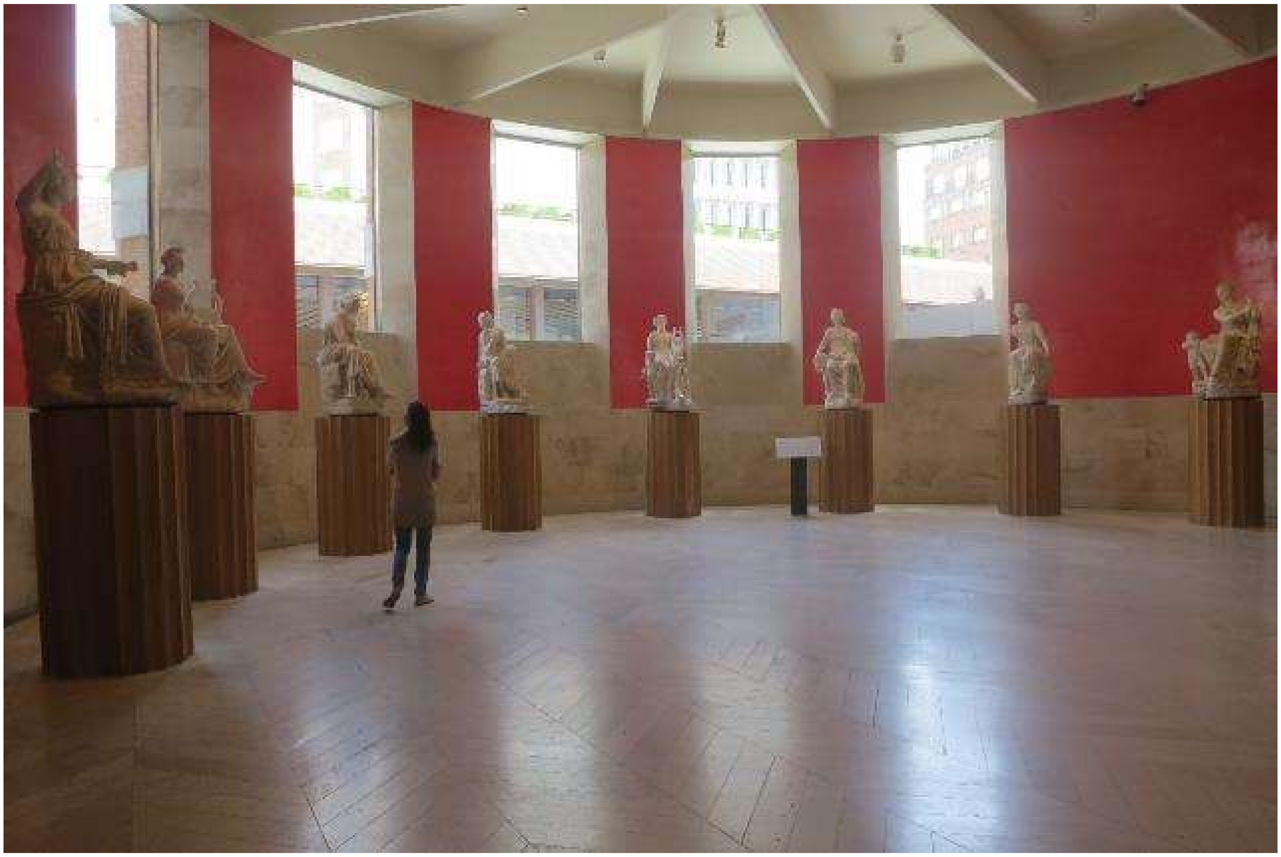

Figure 28: *Christina's Eight Roman Seated Muses*.
Unknown roman sculpture workshops and restorations by workshop of Francesco Maria Nocchieri. 130 C.E. with 17th century restorations, marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-37, E-38, E-40, E-41, E-61, E-62, E-68, E-69 (Photo: Author)

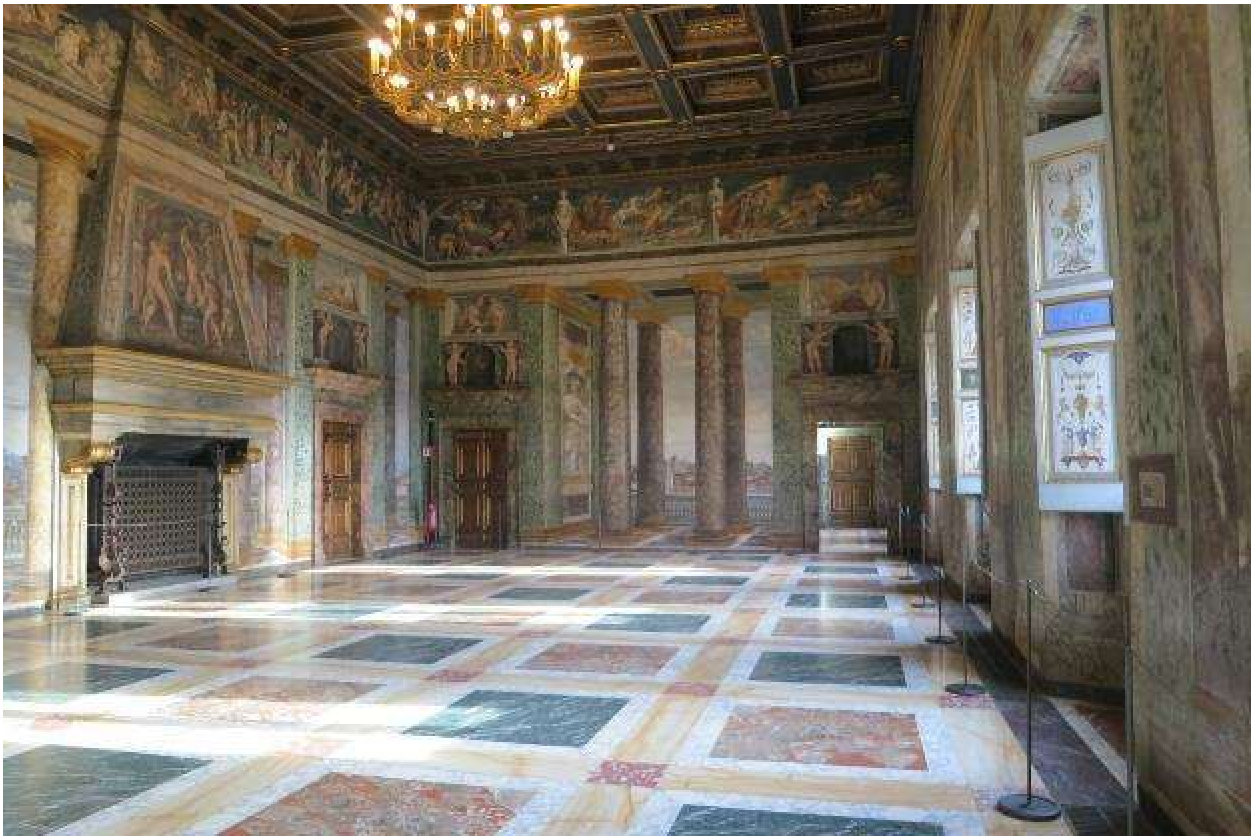

Figure 29: *"Perspectives' Hall," Villa Farnesina.*
Baldassare Peruzzi. 1506-1510, fresco. Villa Farnesina, Rome. (Photo: Author)

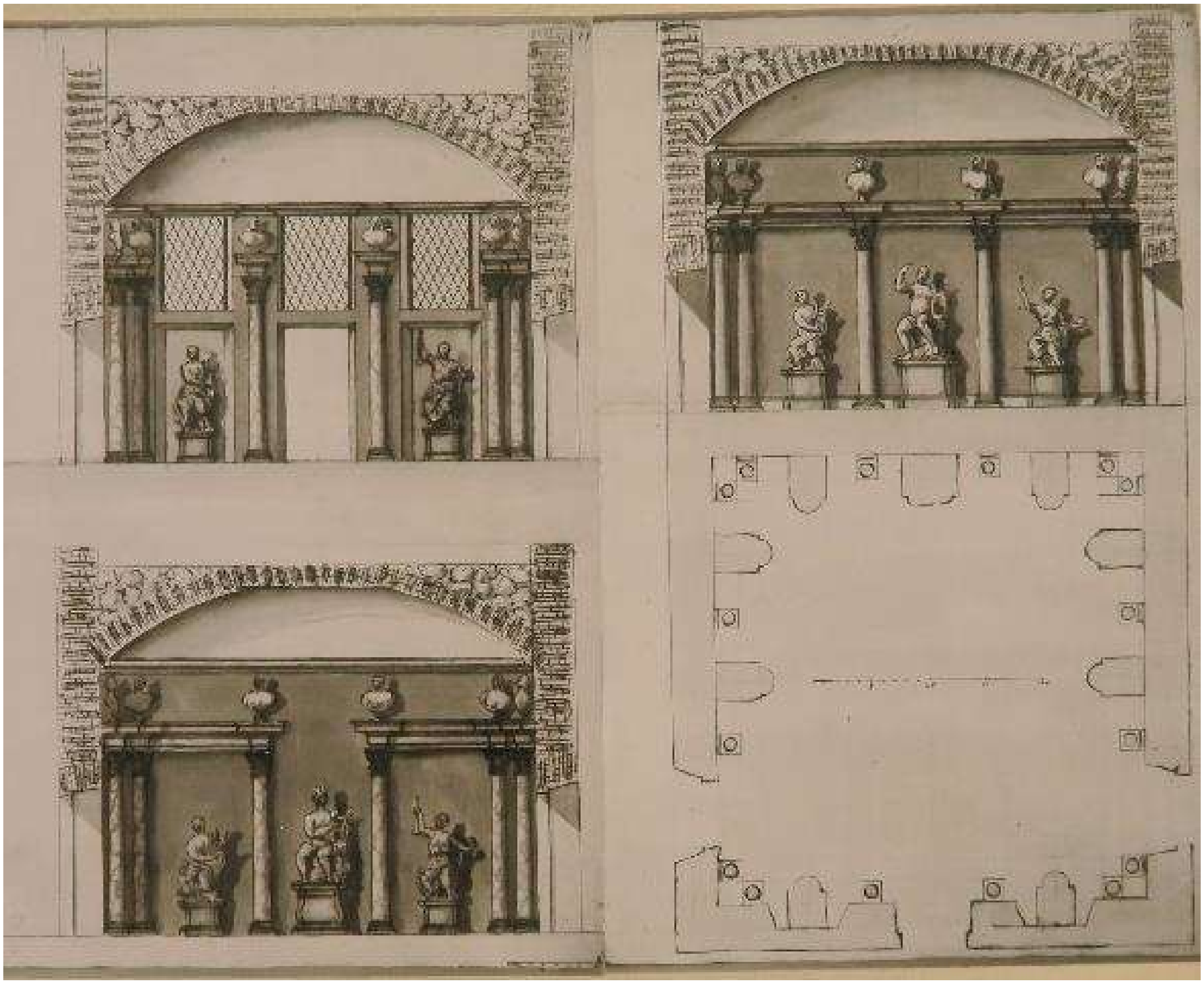

Figure 30: *Drawing of the Sala delle Muse, Palazzo Riario, Rome*.
Camillo Arucci. c. 1660, drawing. Stockholm Nationalmuseum, NMH1045
(Photo: Author. Nationalmuseum, exhibition archives)

For photo contact author or program

Figure 31: *Seated Apollo*.
Francesco Maria Nocchieri. Patrimonio Nacional, no.10027548 (Photo: Real Academia de la Historia, Barba, Esculturas, LÁM, 86)

Room Six

Associations between Christina and the sun continued from the Appolonian themes in room five into room six where a heavily restored ancient torso was transformed by the sculptor Giulio Cartari into the Greek goddess Clitia, a nymph in love with Helios (Figs.32, 33).[323] The statue was in an immersive display at the center of the room with a painted ceiling featuring the sun. This arrangement placed the viewer in the midst of the statue's interaction with the sun god. The influence of Cartari's mentor Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Apollo and Daphne can be seen in the Clitia's upward gaze, outstretched arm, and wild tendrils of hair. Tessin's description of the sculpture shows that such a comparison was evident to contemporaries. He talks about Clitia's fingers and toes stretching toward the sun in a moment of transformation similar to Bernini's Daphne.

In this room the Clitia seems to overwhelm Tessin's memory of the other sculptures. Until this point in his account, Tessin is a relatively faithful guide, providing at least a minimal summary of the types, media, and numbers of sculpture seen in each room. In room six he moves quickly on from the Clitia to say that there was an Alexander Magnus, an Antonius, eight columns, and work by Bernini among other busts and sculptures. He provides little additional information. Thankfully other sources document what was a very full room. Aside from the Clitia, the works in the sixth room were numerous and the walls would have been lined with sculpture. The space included two white marble busts, a marble head, a marble head of a man in a helmet, a bust of marble with a mantle made of alabaster, a bust of a nude male youth, and a seventeenth-century bust of Alexander the Great, one of Christina's personal heroes.[324] There was a Hercules with his club on his right and the lion's skin to his left (Fig.34) and a nude Jupiter holding a thunderbolt, accompanied by an Eagle. Both of these figures were carved from white marble and stood roughly five feet tall.[325] The room held two additional sculptures, also described as a Jupiter and a Hercules with each of those slightly taller measuring nearly six feet.

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[323] The Hellenic lower torso is now in the Prado inv. No. E-22. Nationalmuseum, *Christina of Sweden,* 576 no. 1 481; Prado, *Catálogo de la Escultura, por A. Blanco,* 26f; Barba, *Las Esculturas*, 194. The upper torso from the pastiche is now in at the Ponte Vedra, Galizia.

A white marble faun holding a tuft of earth stood near a nude white marble youth with a drapery over his shoulder. An *amorino* was displayed with a porphyry box. A partially nude Venus standing with a vase in her right hand, resting on a square plinth, completed the room.[326] There does not appear to have been any thematic interplay between the room's painted decoration and the sculptures in the room, the rest of the works standing as silent witnesses to the scene of Clitia's transformation playing out at the center of the space. As in previous rooms, the paired statuary groups such as the sets of Herculae and Jupiters would have produced a balance to the display, carrying on the general themes that appear throughout the suite while the smaller items elevated the queen's status by impressing visitors with the quantity and quality of marbles she owned.

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[324] Christina had a large collection of mixed-material imperial busts including several with alabaster mantles. The contemporary bust of Alexander the Great is in Spain but not in the Prado collections (Patrimonio Nacional 10046800).

[325] Christina had multiple standing marble statues of Hercules but each is positioned with his attributes in a distinct enough manner that the detail provided by the inventories is enough to guess at a proper reconstruction of their placements. One of the two Hercules statues in this room was a variant of the Lansdowne Hercules and can be identified as Prado, E-108. One of the two Jupiter sculptures is Prado, E-16. A Hercules matching the general description of the two in this room as well as a Jupiter appear in the inventory from circa 1662 and were among the earliest antiquities in her Roman collections.

[326] The youth is Prado, E-500, the Venus is the Venus del Pomo, Prado, E-65.

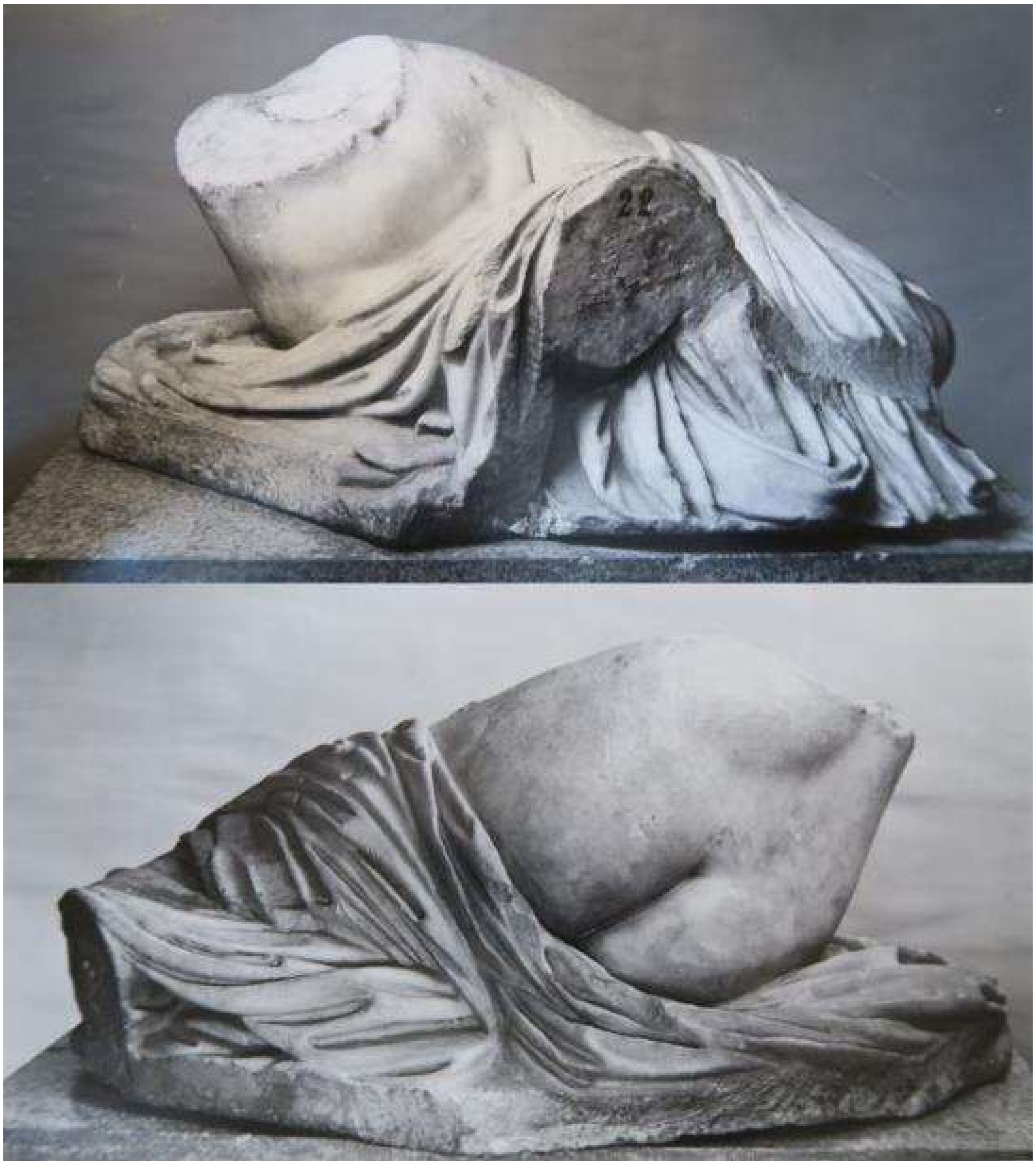

Figure 32: *Clitia, Antique Fragment.*
130-150 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-22 (Photos: Author. Nationalmuseum exhibition archives, Antik II)

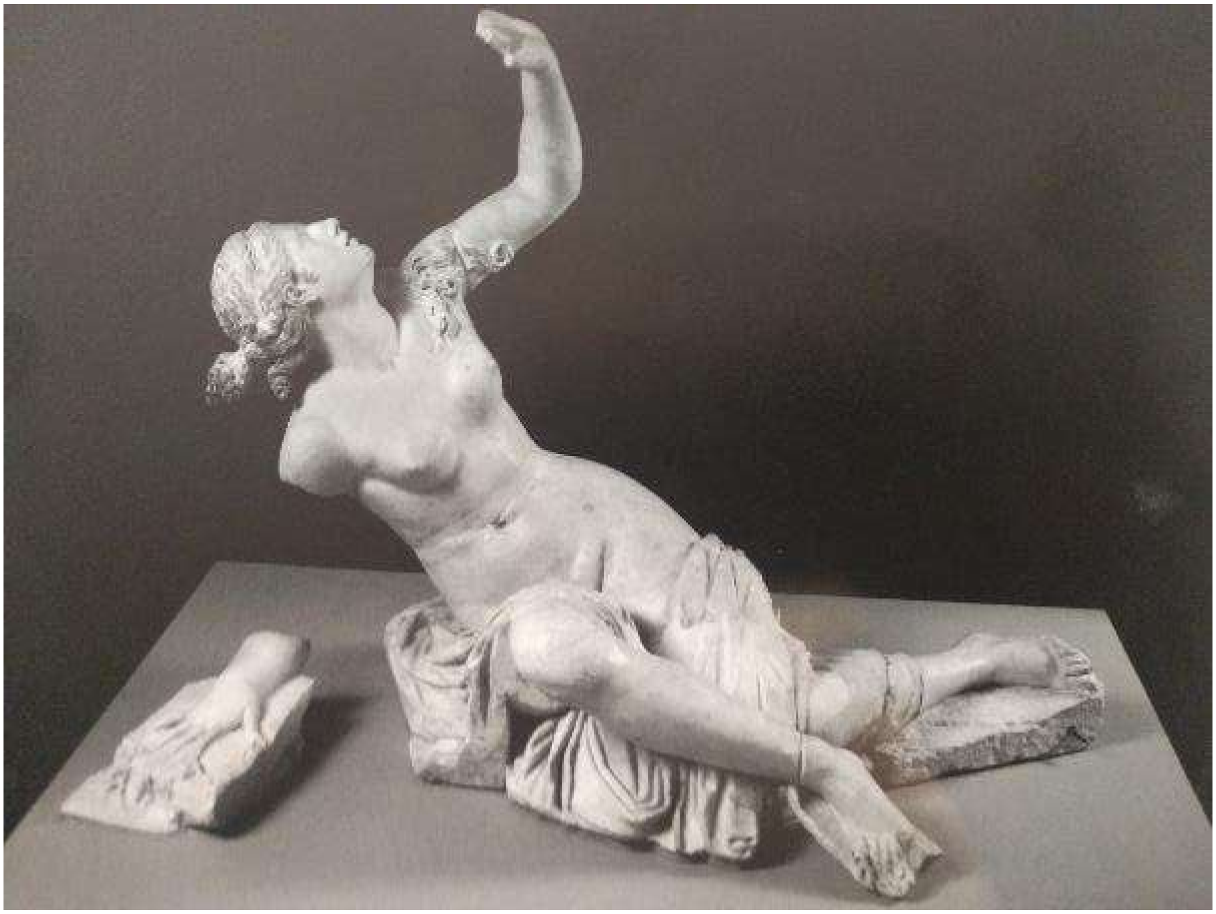

Figure 33: *Clitia*.
Giulio Cartari, 130-150 C.E. torso, 17th century additions, marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-22 (Photo: Author. Nationalmuseum Exhibition Archives. Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

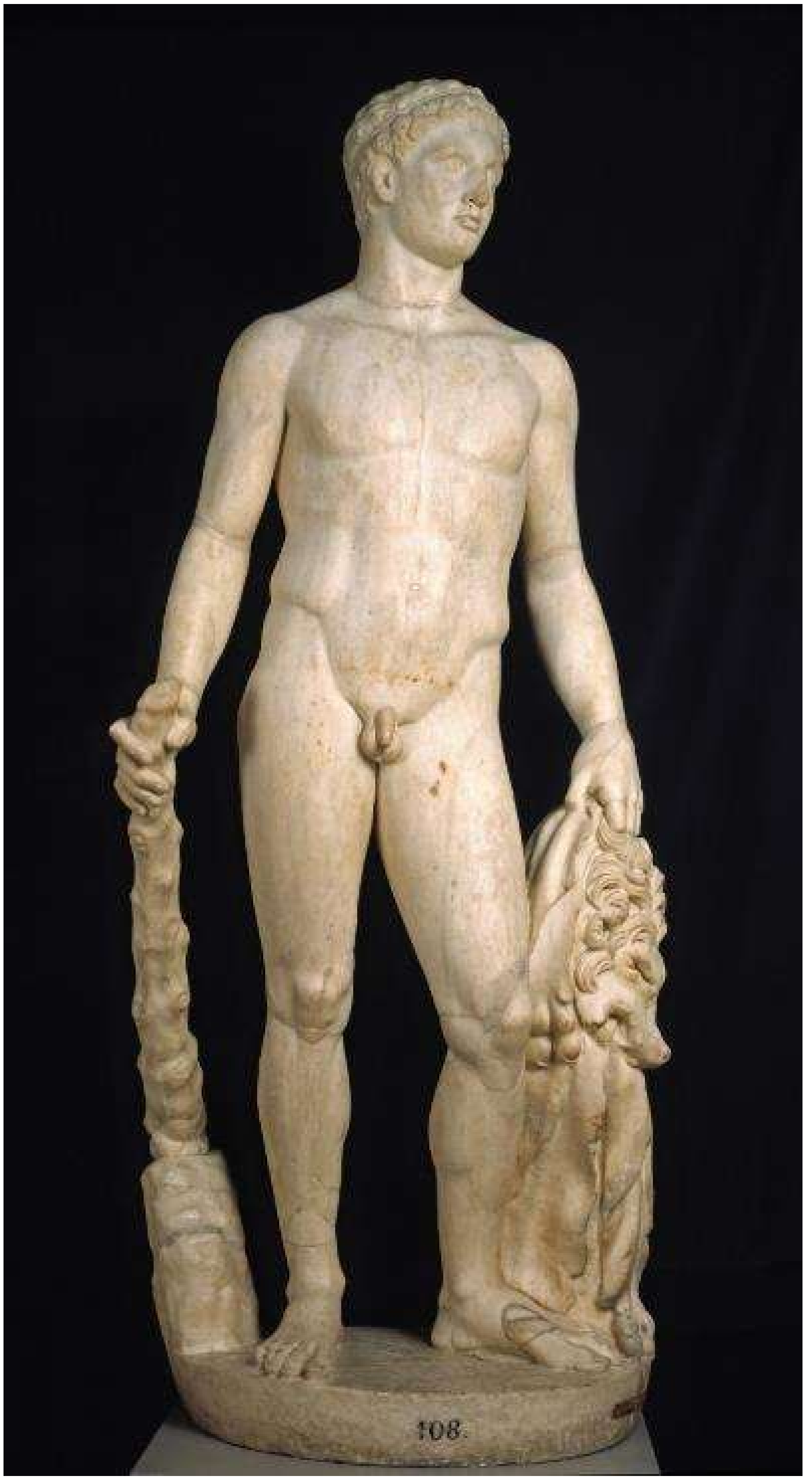

Figure 34: *Hercules.*
c 200 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-108 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Room Seven

The seventh room had a large number of sculptures, similar to the preceding space. Among its most notable pieces was a non-antique marble sculpture of two *putti* fighting over a palm branch by the seventeenth-century sculptor Dominico Guidi (1625-1701). The purchase of this group along with another sculpture of twin children, displayed in the final room of Christina's suite, and a bust of the queen by the Guidi could help to date the before 1689 inventory to before Tessin's visit, as these sculptures appear prominently in Tessin's 1687 account but not on the inventory.[327]Around the Guidi statues, the room was lined with an assortment of marbles and featured at least 16 busts and seven columns. There were stone heads of a man and a woman with other busts identified as Seneca and Caracalla, a bust of a woman, two large white marble male busts, a bust of a veiled woman, and a bust of a youth. A pair of busts of men dressed as consular Greeks, a pair of busts featuring a man and a woman on matching bases, a pair of large, white marble, sculptures of a cow and an ox, and a small stone idol contributed to a somewhat eclectic display.[328]

There was a single-footed standing animal similar to a bull with a capital on its head witch likely originated from a piece of furniture or was a fragment of decorative architecture. In Christina's space this bull served as a sculptural base for a bust of a woman in matching white marble (Fig.35).[329] An early seventeenth-century bust of an Ethiopian man with an alabaster chest and a dark marble head, likely from the workshop of Cordier, was mounted on a red stone pediment.[330] The rich material and appeal of such sculptures must have been enjoyed by the queen as her Roman collection included at least six antique mixed-stone busts and multiple works in the manner of Cordier. Her earlier Swedish collection contained a similar mixed-stone bust of an African child and a mixed-stone Commodus as Hercules. Among the smaller marbles displayed in room seven was a bas-relief that featured figures playing the flute and putti as well as two heads of large cats.

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[327] Additional archival work with regard to these purchases is needed.

[328] The bull is Prado, E-6 and the cow is Prado, E-111.

[329] We do not know which female bust was displayed on the ornate column which is Prado, E-599.

Among the small sculpture which were displayed on short columns was a sculpture of a sleeping cupid. The figure, laying on its side with his hand over his head, rested on a base carved of the same marble that featured a bunch of grapes and a lizard in white marble. It was of the same type as the sleeping cupid that appears in the du Fresne inventory of Christina's Swedish collections.[331] It seems likely that this sculpture was part of the purchase from the Rockox collection in Antwerp as a sleeping cupid of the same type is seen in the lower left-hand side of the Francken painting atop a table (see Fig. 11). The piece was mounted on a dark stone base and is mentioned in all of the queen's Rome inventories, but it is not mentioned among known works sold to Spain. We know that the sculpture mentioned in the before-1689 inventory was part of the early Roman collections of the queen as it appears in the post-1662 inventory as "*Un Amorino di Marmo à giacere, sopra un marmo tinto nero à foggia di trapontino di palmi dui incirca sopra un scabellone di Noce alte, ternito intagliate è traforate*."[332] Because of the relatively small size of this piece it does not seem unreasonable to believe that it was among the artworks transported to Rome in 1655. If this is the case, the sleeping cupid would be the only antique marble that can be tied to both of the queen's royal collections.[333]

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[330] Prado, E-381.

[331] There is marble sleeping cupid of a similar type listed in the collections of the Prado but the museum's records do not list it as part of the inventory that came from la Granja and Christina's collections. No alternate provenance other than the "Colección Real" is given. Prado, E-640.

[332] "A marble Amorino lays on top of a black-stained marble that is in the shape of a quilt of palms, this is engraved on a tall, carved, wooden base." 1662 Inv., no. 40.

The smaller sculptures and busts in the seventh room were interspersed with multiple large figures, most of which were female and can be identified in the Prado's collections. Near the entrance to the garden there was a Muse, leaning on a pillar of mixed marble.[334] A Roman copy of a well-known Greek sculpture of Leda and a Swan (Fig.36) was also displayed in the room, mounted in a niche with a second similarly mounted sculpture of the same subject in a pendant niche.[335] One of the most often remarked upon pieces was a crouching Venus whose arms, head, and foot were Baroque restorations (Fig.37).[336] The sculpture was a combination of two of the most popular Venus types with the dynamically twisted figure kneeling on a tortoise.[337]

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[333] Other antiquities such as manuscripts, coins, and cameos are also traceable to both collections.

[334] Prado, E-32.

[335] One of the Ledas is Prado, E-9. There is not another Leda in the Prado collections making it unclear where the second figure is today. It could be one of a number of fragments that have had Early Modern interventions removed as the Odescalchi Inventory of 1713 (fol. 29v) mentions that one of the Leda statues had a partially restored head, right hand, and swan. One of the Leda statues appears in the earliest inventory made of the Palazzo Riario, begun after 1662, making it among her earliest Roman purchases.

[336] Now called an Aphrodite. Prado, E-33. Schröder, *Catálogo de la escultura clásica,* 267-270; Barba, *Las esculturas,* 55,77,179.

[337] According to the before-1689 inventory, this sculpture was formerly in the collection of Cardinal Azzolino.

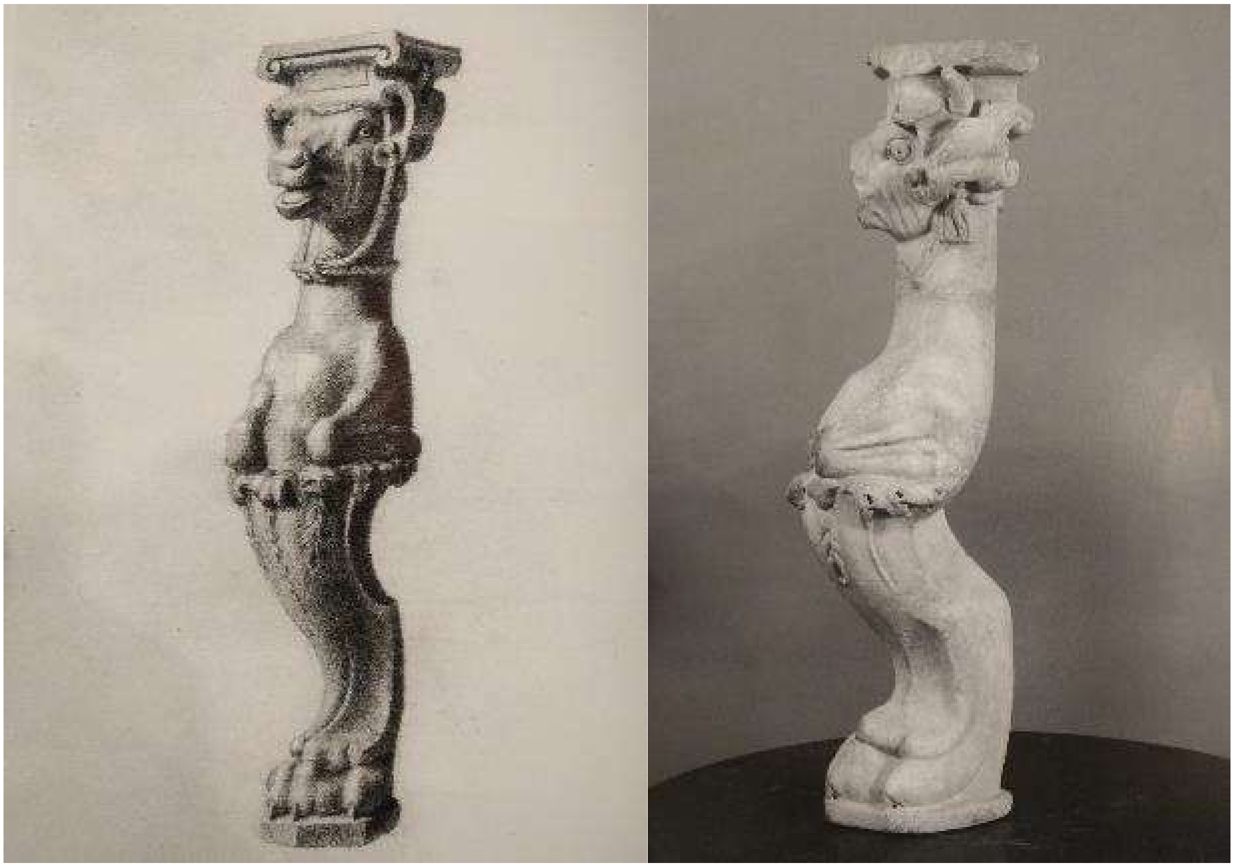

Figure 35: *Pedistal in the Shape of an Animal/Bull.*
Left: *Drawing from the Cuaderno de Ajello.* Abbot Eutichio Ajello. 1750-59, drawing, Museo del Prado, Madrid. Right: Museo del Prado*,* E-599. (Photos: Real Academia de la Historia. Barba, *Las Esculturas,* 118-119)

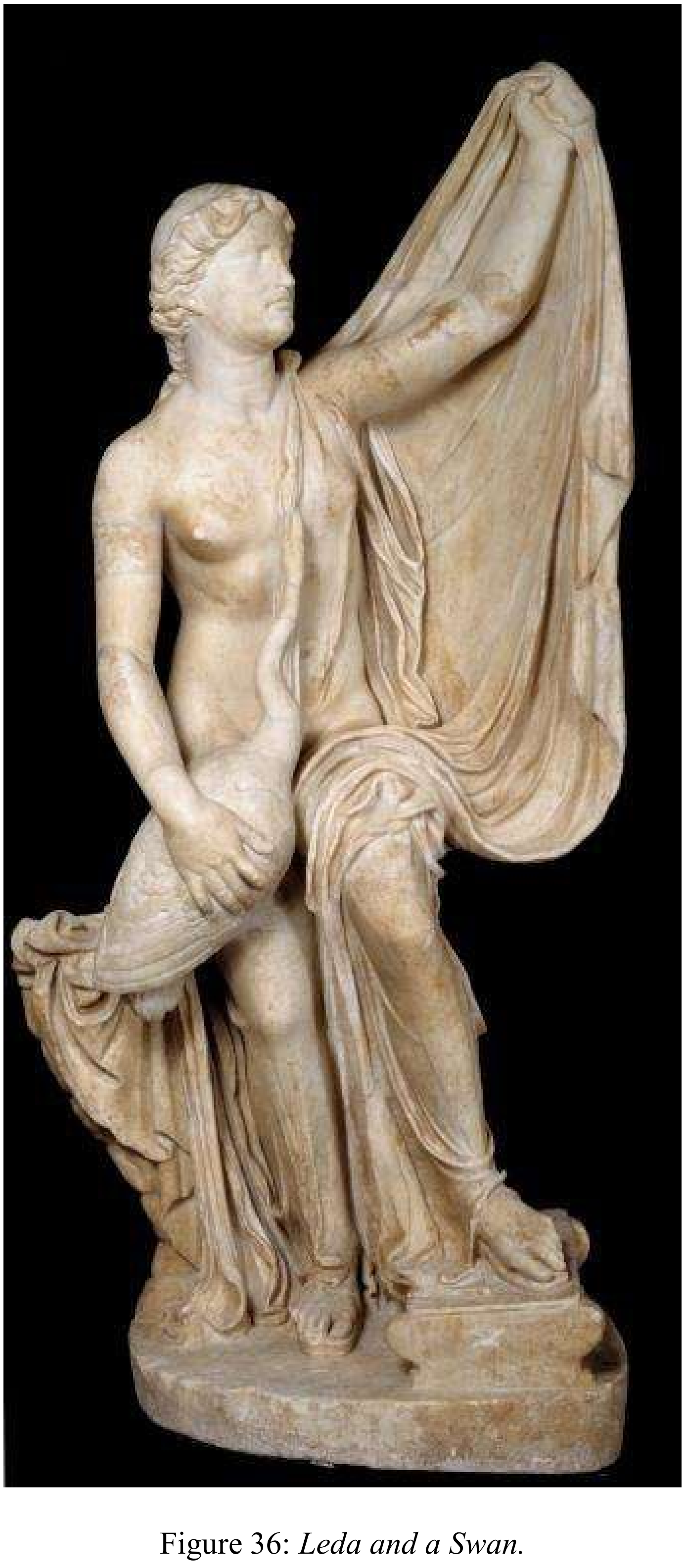

Figure 36: *Leda and a Swan.*
ca. 135 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-9 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

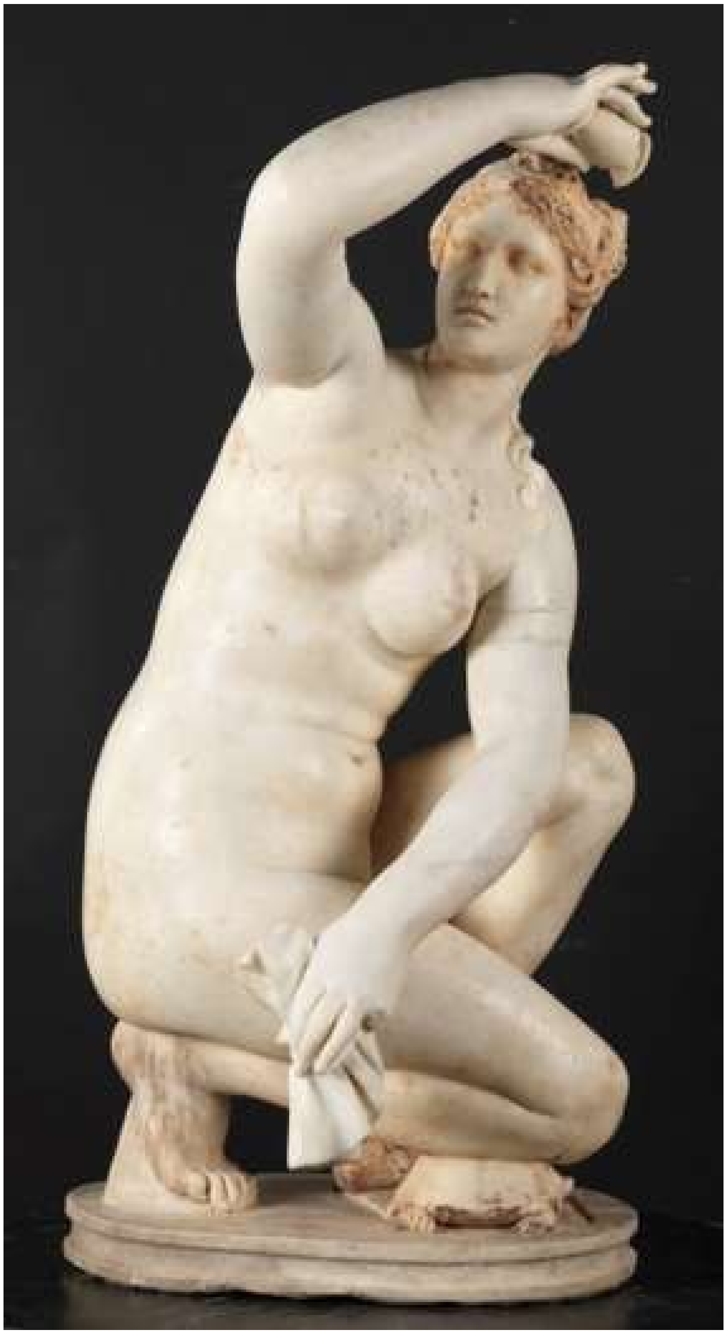

Figure 37: *Venus/Crouching Aphrodite.*
Mid 2nd century, marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-33 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Room Eight

The eighth room was the last standard-sized display room with large scale marbles. The sculptures in this room were some of the most famous antiquities associated with Christina. The nine busts in the room were described only in general terms. There were three male busts made of white marble. Three additional male busts and one female bust had grey or *bigio antico* mantles with white marble heads. A large, nude Venus with a dolphin displayed in this room has been suggested as one of the only major finds to have resulted from Christina's papal sanctioned excavations in Rome near St. Lawrence in Panisperna (Fig.38).[338] The Venus was accompanied by a tall figure identified in the palace inventory as a "barbarian king." This identification is primarily due to the band across his head often associated with groups identified as "other" such as the Gauls and the Goths. None of the travel diary descriptions of the queen's collections comment specifically on the sculpture making it unclear whether the "barbarian king" was in any way framed in a light that likened or removed his presence from direct associations to Christina as Queen of the Goths and Vandals.

The room also contained a set of bas-reliefs. The first was once part of an altar and was a columnar relief carved in the round featuring a bacchanal. The second relief sat on festooned feet and featured a youth holding a baton. There were eight columns throughout the room, two made of alabaster, two made of Spanish *brocatello*, one flecked marble, and one of *giallo antico,* each topped with a bust. The two alabaster columns flanked a statue group of Castor and Pollux, now known as the San Ildefonso Group, which was mounted on a pedestal covered in antique bas-reliefs of battle (Fig.39).[339] The sculpture was one of the most famous works in Christina's collections and was purchased by the queen from the large former collection of Cardinal Massimi. It was likely discovered in the 1620s and, before entering Christina's collection, it was displayed at the Villa Ludovisi where it likely acquired the bas-relief base.[340]

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[338] Prado, E-31. Callmer believes that this Venus along with the Faun was restored by Ercole Ferrata and it has alternately been referred to as the "Venus Panisperna." Tessin claims that it was purchased from the Ludovisi. Callmer, *Drottning Kristinas samlingar av antik konst*, 24. For more on the Venus now in the Prado's collection see: Azcue Brea, "El origen de las colecciones de escultura, 73-108; Miguel Angel Blanco, *Historias naturales: un proyecto de Miguel Ángel Blanco* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013), 42-45, 117.

Along with the Castor and Pollux was a Faun that was discovered during the construction of a road near the Chiesa Nuova. The Faun was significantly restored by Ercole Ferrata and was displayed between the two columns of *brocatello*.[341] The San Ildefonso Group and the Faun became synonymous with Christina's collection and were reproduced in casts that were distributed throughout Europe. Copies of both sculptures were brought to Sweden in the eighteenth-century and can still be found on the grounds of the Swedish Royal palace at Drottningholm, decorating the gardens along with the De Vries bronzes taken by Christina's troops from Prague.[342]

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[339] This relief may be the Patrimonio Nacional's number 10027182.

[340] Prado, E-28. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 173-74, no 19; Axel Rügler, 'Die Ildefonso gruppe in Winckelmanns monumenti antichi inedita" in *El legado de Johann Joachim Winckelmann en España*. Actas congreso internacional 20-21 Oct. 2011 (Madrid: 2014): 193-202; Herrero Sanz, "El grupo de S. Ildefonso o la ofrenda de Orestes y Pílades: de Roma a Madrid," *Reales Sitios* XLVII (2010): 30-41.

[341] Prado, E-29. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique,* 109-10, no.37.

[342] The Swedish crown was not in the position to purchase Christina's marbles when they came up for sale in the first decades of the 1700s. The copies were installed as part of the decorations of the royal park which was initially developed by Tessin the Younger.

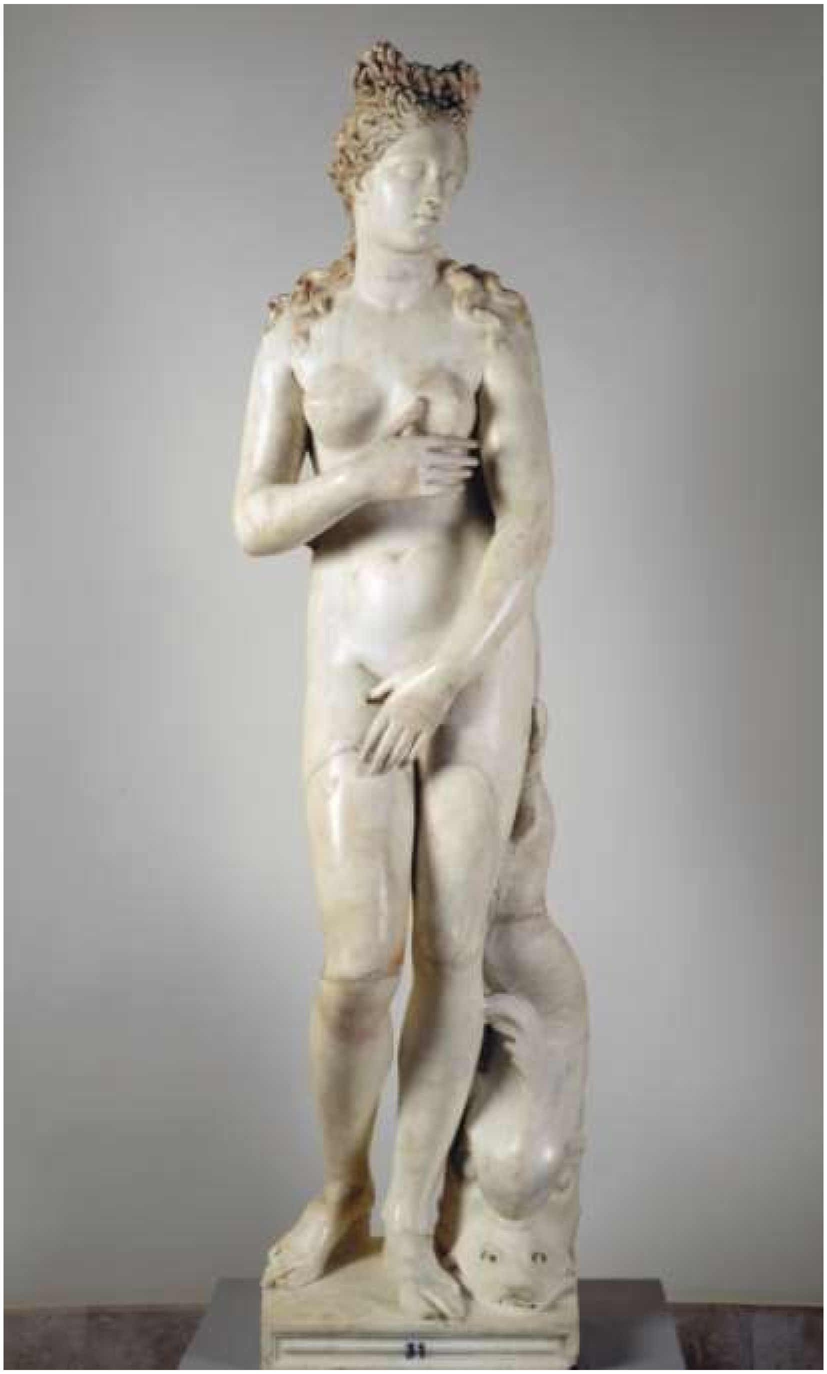

Figure 38: *Venus with a Dolphin.*
140-150 C.E., marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-31 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

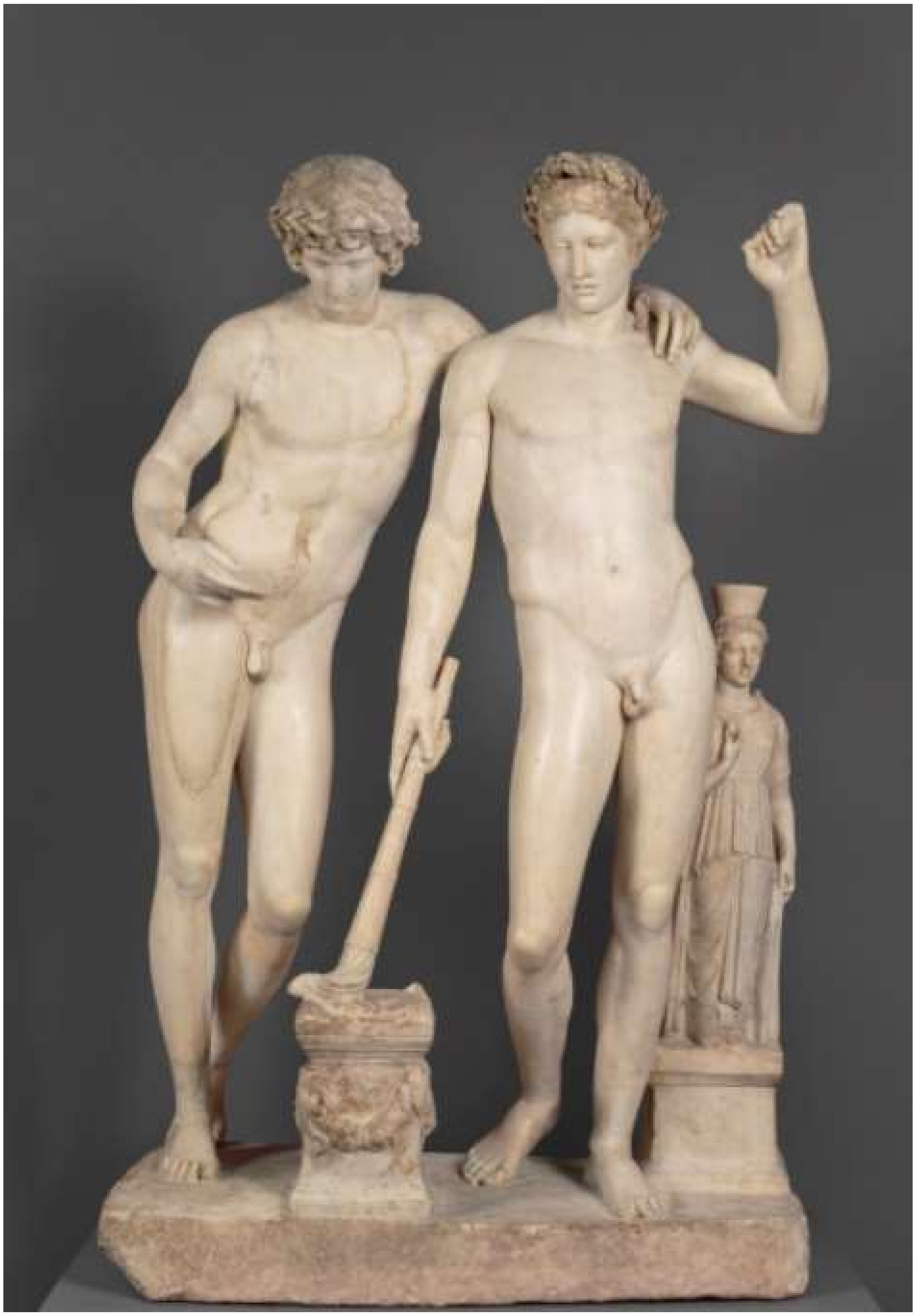

Figure 39: *Castor and Pollux/Orestes and Pylades or The San Ildefonso Group.* ca. 10 B.C.E., Carrara marble. Museo del Prado, Madrid, E-28 (Photo: Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

Giardino Secreto

From the eighth room visitors had three options. They could proceed to the right into a smaller, more private pair of rooms. They could continue straight into the gardens behind the palace. Alternatively, they could turn left and enter the secret garden that ran parallel to rooms four through eight. The gardens next to the queen's sculpture galleries were equally full of antique marble as the rooms they adjoined. There are no detailed descriptions of the layout of this space, nor are the sculptures in it explicitly mentioned by visitors to the palace. Our understanding of this portion of the collections comes exclusively from the 1698 inventory which lists items in the "giardino secreto."[343] The quality of these objects and their degree of finish is markedly lower than those sculptures displayed inside the palace.

More than 85 objects are discussed in the inventory with at least 30 of them specifically described as broken or as being composed of several pieces. There are 17 entries for architectural fragments such as columns, steps, and capitals. Several of those entries account for large groups of like fragments, representing dozens of pieces of antique architectural stone work displayed in the garden. In addition to an ancient altar, a great stone table, two broken baths, and a large assortment of marble heads, arms, and thighs, the inventory mentions 47 figural sculptures in the garden.[344] While several of the large sculptures in the space, including the small Bacchus, may be identifiable in the Prado collections, it is likely that many of these lower quality pieces were not included in the sale to Spain.[345]

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[343] Before-1689 inventory, fol. 224-254.

[344] These sculptures can be categorized as follows: four figurines, two male busts, three gladiators, two women, an Athena, a Flora, a Jupiter, a Phoebe, three men with laurels at least one of which was fully nude, a Bacchus, a male bust with a female head attached, an amorino, a male youth, four men, 19 heads of various sizes, a bust with no head, a torso, five putti of which four are genuflected and at least one is nude, one old man with a beard, a woman with a cornucopia and fruits, and a man with a cornucopia.

Room Nine

If, instead of entering the secret garden on their left, visitors in room eight had turned right, they would have entered into a small intermediary space that signaled the end of the public galleries. With no antique sculptures on display, it housed two portrait busts of Christina. Busts of the queen were produced by many of the most prominent artists of her time including Giulio Cartari, Francesco Queirolo, Bernini, Georg Schweigger, and Massimiliano Soldani Benzi. One of the two busts from the ninth room is now lost while the other is now in Spain. This large, white marble piece featured the queen's curly hair tangled in a crown of laurels. The bust was mounted on top of an antique marble slab and has been identified as the work of Cartari (Fig.40). Now located in the Palacio Real de La Granja de San Ildefonso, the nearly three quarter-length bust shows Christina in a Roman-style dress with the smiling sun she used as a personal device carved into the fibula on her shoulder. This space ensured that guests would read the display and her busts as a sort of visual signature, providing a clear message of ownership as well an indication of her contemporary artistic patronage and connections. The theme of queenship implicitly announced by the Apollo and the Cleopatra in the first room is here explicitly stated.

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[345] Prado, E-368.

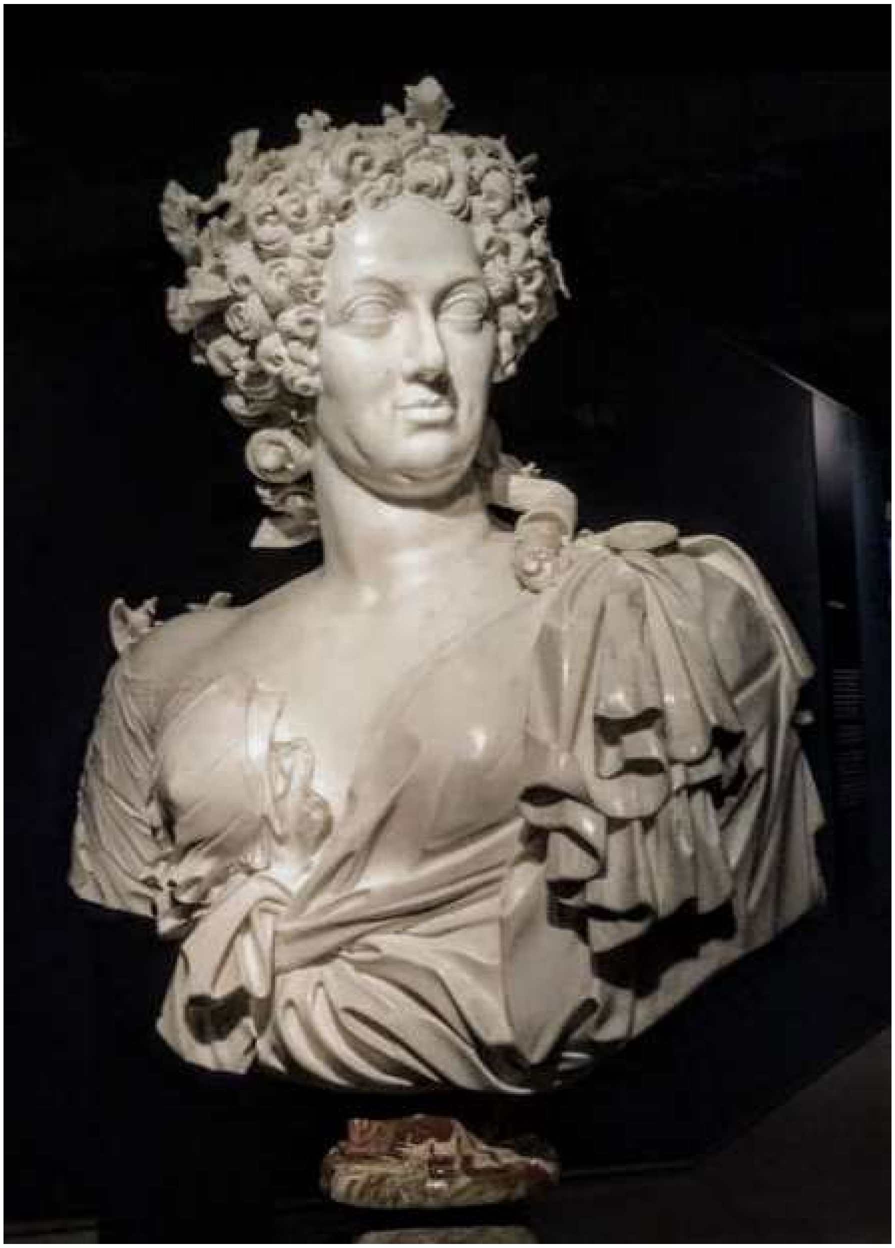

Figure 40: *Bust of Queen Christina.*
Giulio Cartari. 1681, marble. Palazzo Reale della Granja de San Ildefonso, Spain.
(Photo: Christina-Akademien)

Room Ten

The final room in the suite was small and is described as a bathroom. While this is the most practically functional and private space on the *piano terreno,* it was no less spectacularly appointed than the others. It appears that visitors such as Tessin were allowed into this more personal space, which was separated slightly from the suite of rooms attached to the garden. In the bath was an antique Venus, described by Tessin as more perfectly preserved than any other antique statue in Rome. He specifies that, like the San Ildefonso group, the Venus in the Bath was purchased from Prince Ludovisi by Christina. The inventories mention that this high-quality Venus was accompanied by a marble dolphin and held a thin veil in her hand that covered her body from chest to knee.[346] Two modern works completed the statuary in the room. A statue representing sleep, now attributed to the workshop of Bernini, stood in a niche and was offset in the space by Dominico Guidi's pair of marble children.[347]

The bath seems to have been functional, as the Rome inventory from before 1689 describes brass faucets which delivered water to a pair of antique marble bathtubs, drained by a similar brass fitting.[348] These tubs were accented by a pair of stone tables and a common base of *pietra mischia* and were placed near the room's exit to the courtyard. A dark granite basin, still located in the Palazzo Corsini, has been suggested by Belardi as being one of the two known to have been in the private bath.[349] No definitive documentation has been provided for the tub still at the Plazzo being one of the two originally installed in the tenth room of the suite. Another candidate, more or less matching the reported size of Christina's bathroom tubs, is a ringed bath of dark Egyptian marble that was documented to have been in Christina's collection, now in the British Museum (Fig.41).[350] The tub came to London via the Duke of Bracciano who obtained it from the Odecalchi family and was likely part of a general purging of non-figural antiquities following the sale of Christina's marbles to Spain. This final room on the ground floor opened out onto the opposite side of the same courtyard from which the first room in the suite was entered. From there one could proceed to the left and enter the extensive gardens that climbed the Janiculum or cross the courtyard and climb the main stair to the *piano nobile*.

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[346] The location of this statue is unknown as it does not match any works in Spain.

[347] Sleep is Prado, E-84. Schröder, *Catálogo de la escultura clásica,* 85; G. Maurer, "Los Sueños. El Amor dormido," in *Goya en Madrid: cartones para tapices 1775-1794,* Manuela Mena Marques ed. (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2014), 226-231.

[348] While the tubs appear to have been technically useable, it is not known if the queen ever used them. Since her time in Stockholm Christina had a myriad of health issues. It is possible that the appearance of a room for bathing, a somewhat rare occurrence in Roman palaces, may have been intended to be part of Christina's health regimen although more research in this area is needed.

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[349] Belardi, *Palazzo Corsini alla Lungara,* 41, 107.

[350] The Palazzo Riario Inventory of ca.1689 lists: "*Due Vasche unite assieme di pietra Mischia, Longhe palmi sette p(?) ciascheduna, Larghe palmi tre, e due terzi, et alte palmi due, é due terzi murate, che servono p. il bagno con quattro chiave d'Ottone indorate, che servono p. far venire l'accqua nelle de Vasche, e due tavole di da pietra mischia, Larghe palmi quattro per ciascheduna, et alte palmi uno, e mezzo murate*." Before 1689 inventory, fol. 243-244. There are two basins from Christina's collection at the British museum. The first, 1805,0703.228, is a shallow, reddish-grey basin of Egyptian granite with lion's feet that were likely an Early Modern addition. It measures only 3'7" in length by 2'10" tall and is certainly not one of the two tubs mentioned in the queen's bathroom as the dimensions do not match those described in the inventory. A comparison of the other basin that arrived at the British Museum with the basin still at the Corsini Palace is not enough to conclusively determine which of them was part of the set displayed in the bathroom. From the Early Modern descriptions of the space, it seems likely that the pair of basins were a matched set like the pair from the baths of Caracalla which were displayed in the Piazza Farnese. This is only supposition based on the fact that no differentiation in the basins was mentioned and the same dimensions were provided for both. The mesaurements of the tubs in room ten was: 5'11" x 2'6" x 1'9". The British Museums' more likely candidate, 1805,0703.233, is made of Egyptian Green basalt with decorative rings on the side. It measures 6'1" x 2'8" x 2'8". This makes it possible (but not probable) that the Corsini and British Museum basins were the two paired in the queen's private antique bath. More likely, either the ringed bath or the tub still more-or-less in situ were part of a pair which has since been divided.

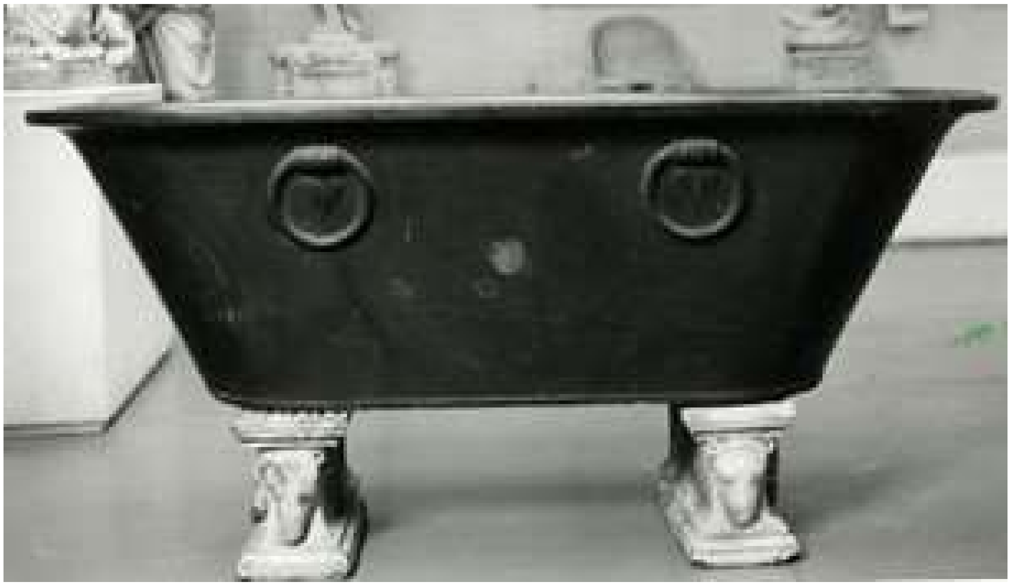

Figure 41: *Bath with carved ring-shaped handles decorated with ivy leaves.* Late 2nd century/early 3rd century, Egyptian green basalt. British Museum, London, No. 1805,0703.233 (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Piano Nobile

Outside of the secret garden and the rooms on the *piano terreno,* ancient works were mixed with decorative objects *all'antica* amidst Christina's large collection of paintings and displayed throughout the upper apartments. An antique bronze portrait consisting of little more than a thin mask was thought to be of Alexander the Great and was displayed on a table in the main picture gallery on the *piano nobile* (Fig.42).[351] Cabinets containing the queen's collections of medals, ancient coins, carved gems and cameos were located adjacent to the windows overlooking the central courtyard in the same gallery with additional coin cabinets housed elsewhere on the same floor.[352] Non-figural antique objects listed in the 1662 inventory but not described by visitors in the collections on the *piano terreno* such as a set of Porta Santa Urns and a porphyry table with lions' paw feet were most likely displayed on the upper floor of the palace.[353]

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[351] Biermann has argued that this bronze Alexander served as a sort of surrogate for Christina's male alter ego, Alexander the Great and that it was through this male alternate the queen was able to engage with the mythological subjects in her picture gallery. Biermann, Veronica. *"*The Virtue of a King and the Desire of a Woman*?* Mythological Representations *in the* Collection of Queen Christina*,"* *Art History* 24 (2003): 213–30.

The heavily classical setting of the ground floor rooms was transformed on the *piano nobile* into a humanistic and artistic homage to the classical past that was consistent with contemporary taste. Two of Christina's columns are still in situ*,* framing the entrance to the *galleria* that featured Christina's mythological paintings (Fig.43). The queen's bedroom was decorated with a set of faux-ancient columns, its ceiling painted with *grotteschi* that echoed Roman wall paintings praised by Bellori at the close of the *Nota.* The decorative programs on the walls and ceilings of the rooms on the *piano terreno* created an immersive garden environment for the sculptural collection that served both personal and public functions for the queen. Likewise, painted ceilings and copiously hung walls on the *piano nobile* replaced the lower floor's pastoral and mythological themes with a more polished, modern environment of wealth and magnificence.

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[352] Nicodemus Tessin, *Travel notes, 1673-77 and 1687-88*, eds., Merit Laine, Börge Magnusson, (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 2002), 321.

[353] These objects are numbers 23 and 38 of the inventory taken after 1662. It seems very likely that these were antique marble pieces but the age and provenance cannot be guaranteed. The items do not appear in lists for the Spain sale and, like the basins in the Brittish Museum, were likely sold off separately at some point after Christina's death.

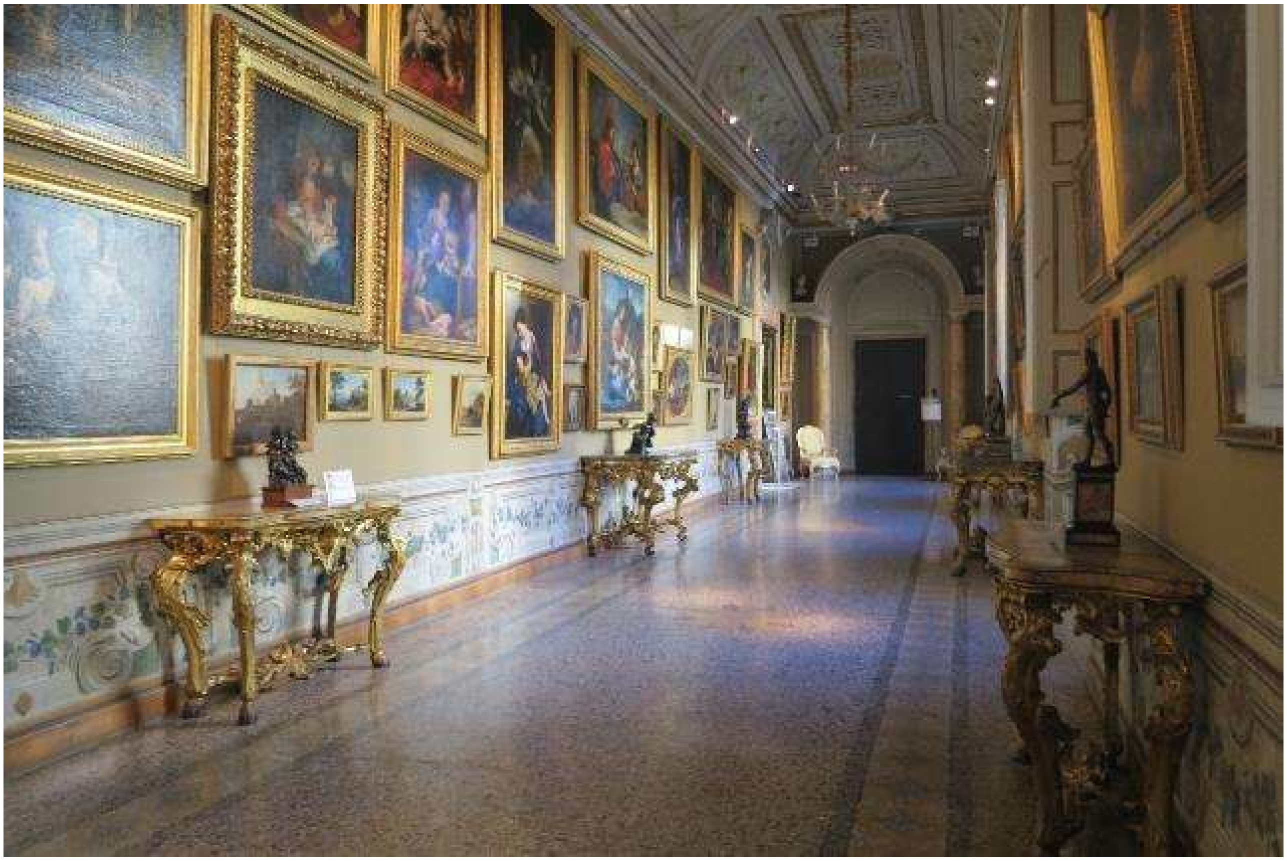

Figure 42: *Palazzo Riario/Corsini, Piano Nobile Gallery*.
Palazzo Corsini, Rome (Photo: Author)

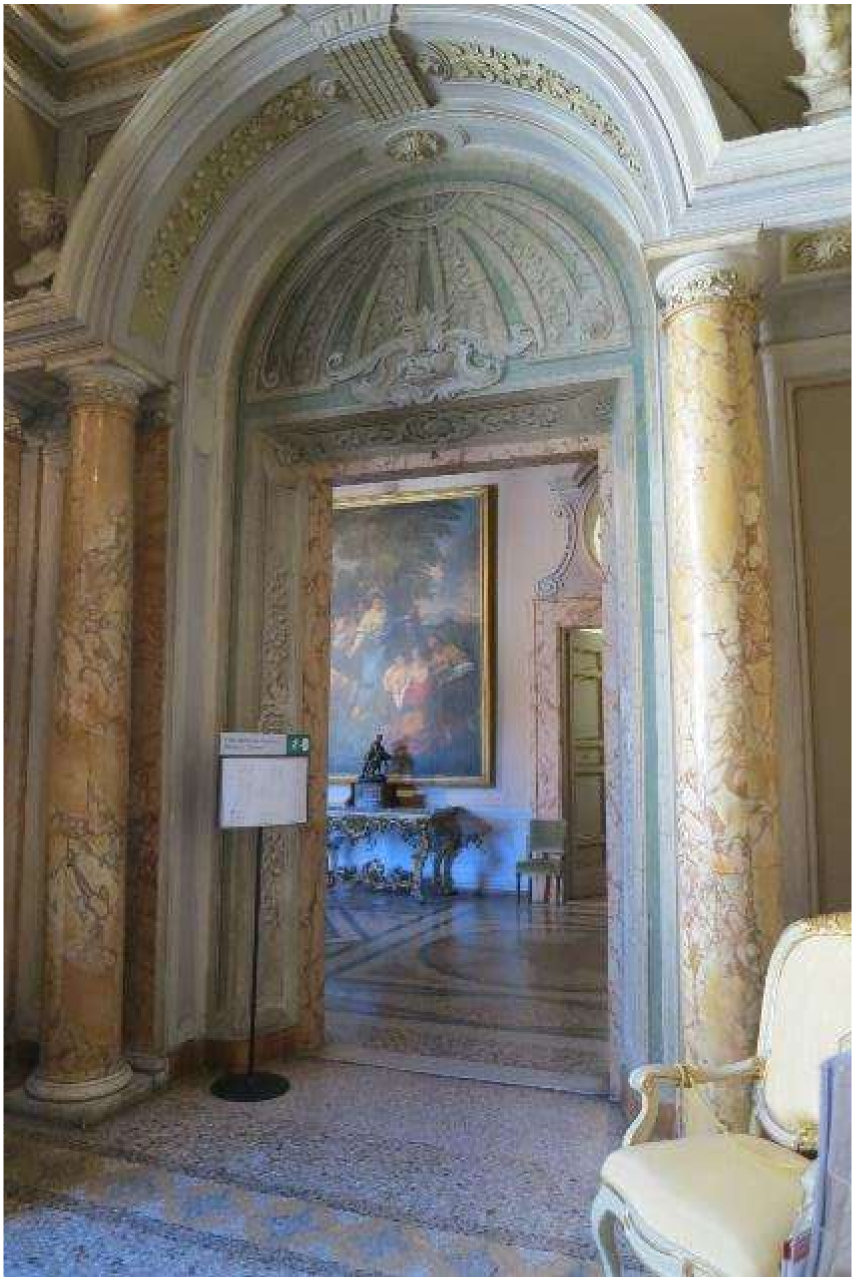

Figure 43: *Piano Nobile Gallery Entrance, Palazzo Riario/Corsini.*
Palazzo Corsini, Rome (Photo: Author)

The Dispersal of the Queen's Roman Collections

Christina's collection of coins, medals, engraved gems, and cameos were noted in the collection of the Odescalchi but were not included in the Spain sale. Well-known and valuable works such as the Gonzaga Cameo were inherited by Azzolino but were sold off separately from the bulk purchases of paintings and sculptures. By the end of the eighteenth century the cameo was in papal possession and was subsequently stolen from Rome by Napoleon's troops, passing to Josephine and then to the hands of Tzar Alexander I of Russia, now residing in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.[354] Like her sculpture collection, Christina's books and manuscripts were sold by her heirs en-masse, but, unlike the sculptures that were shipped abroad, the library was purchased by Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni and remains in Rome as the *Regisina* collection of the Vatican archives.

Particularly high value non-figural ancient pieces such as urns and tables as well as low-quality fragments and restorations, appear to have been separated from the lot of figural sculptures and columns that passed from the Azzolino family to the Odescalchi and then to the Spanish crown. This supposition is substantiated by the location of other non-figural pieces known to have belonged to Christina that today are found in other collections. Although many of the architectural fragments, Renaissance copies of ancient pieces, coins and small sculpture that did not end up in Spain are impossible to trace, the two basins that were once part of Christina's collections in the British Museum would seem to confirm the dispersal of Christina's non-figural antiquities.[355]

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[354] Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 23-28.

After Christina's death her muses were installed indoors in a recreation of her *sala* in the palace of Prince Livio Odescalchi.[356] In their subsequent sale to Elizabetta and Philip V of Spain, they were similarly displayed in a ground floor room of the royal palace at la Granja while other antique sculptures from Christina's famous collection were placed in the adjacent gardens. The muses currently enjoy pride of place in a large semi-circular alcove at the entrance to the Museo del Prado's newly expanded exhibition halls. The fame that these objects have enjoyed is in no small part due to their elevation by Christina and the socio-political importance of their context within her palace.

A Brief Summary of the Queen's Galleries

Displays of feminine allegory and queenship within learned contexts of places like the Collegium Romanum must have been inspiring for Christina, whose formation of a new Roman, Catholic social and political self was still in its nascent stages. Their effect on her can be seen in Christina's evolving and expanding use of paragons of Kingship and female power in the public and semi-public spaces constructed for her in the Palazzo Riario. These themes are particularly prevalent in the ground-floor suite of conjoined rooms housing her collection of antiquities. How

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[355] Arthur Hamilton Smith. *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, Vol. 3* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1901), 412, nos .2542, 2543.

[356] Walker, "The Sculpture Gallery of Prince Livio Odescalchi," 189, 198-199

Christina integrated herself into the history and visual culture of Rome was a product of her own aesthetic preferences and academic interests as much as it was the product of the men she surrounded herself with. Her Roman circle's early recognition of her tastes likely helped ease her acclimation to the city and frame her art installations as those of a great Roman collector as opposed to a foreign imitator.

The queen's establishment of an antiquities collection in Sweden indicated an early desire to create an image of her court as residing on Mt. Parnassus with herself, the Sun Queen, Apollo, acting as the patron and protector of knowledge and the arts. An analysis of her installation of antiquities on the ground floor of the Palazzo Riario illustrates how that theme became clearer and more fully realized in her Roman residence. Christina's development and patronage of what would become the Arcadian Academy ensured a continuous stream of scholars and academics visiting her palace to discourse on her art collections. These visitors would have taken time to go through each room, remaking, as Tessin does in his travel notes, on the quality of certain pieces, the subjects displayed, and the queen's taste.

In Rome, without a country to rule, Christina relied more extensively on the manufacture of magnificence through objects and patronage to maintain her royal image. The galleries described here were the culmination of decades of collecting on behalf of the queen and many of the most prominent objects in them were elevated through their association with her.[357] This transformation of the object's importance is evident in the afterlife of pieces from Christina's collections. The luster related to their prestigious provenance lasted well into the eighteenth century with a prominent papal family such as the Odescalchi copying aspects of the queen's installation in their own palace and using the royal provenance of the marbles to entice buyers for their collection. This prestige created for objects with demonstrated provenance linked to Christina's collection in Rome was in no small part due to the broader program of self-fashioning through the antique that the queen cultivated in other aspects of her life. She became synonymous with a learned, classicized image of rulership that no doubt added cachet to her objects after her death and gave credibility to her role as a female collector of antiquities in life. The specific ways in which Christina built this classical persona in addition to her purchase and display of marbles, coins, and books is the focus of the following chapters.

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[357] This is evidenced by the appearance of eleven of Christina's antiquities in Domenico de Rossi and Paolo Alessandro Maffei's volumes of engravings documenting the most magnificent items from Roman collections. Domenico de'Rossi, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne data in luce sotto i glorioso auspici della santita di N.S. Papa Clemente XI da Domenico de Rossi....* (Rome: Nella Stamperia alla pace, 1704).

Part Three

Christina, Queen of Sweden, the Goths and Vandals: The Classicizing Programs of a Gothic Queen in Rome

In imagery, verse, and prose, Queen Christina was frequently likened to a number of ancient heroes such as Apollo, Alexander the Great, Constantine, Minerva, and Hercules. She physically assumed classical guises, appearing in both masculine and feminine attire in the ballet, and was shown as Minerva and Alexander in numerous prints and medals.[358] One of the ways that a classical persona was built around Christina was through the repeated use of such allegorical imagery across media. These final two chapters of the dissertation will chart and contextualize the ways Christina employed this allegorical imagery. In doing so I will turn to a variety of Renaissance and Baroque examples to illustrate that the adoption of mythical guises and the visual quotation of well-known objects of antiquity in Early Modern allegorical images could serve to normalize socially unacceptable or risqué imagery. These images exemplify how the genre was particularly well suited to individuals whose situations demanded a decorous way of depicting their nonconformity to Early Modern gender roles. This concept has been touched on in relation to sensual, slightly effeminate nude allegorical portraits of Cosimo I de Medici as Orpheus and Andrea Doria as Neptune by Bronzino but has not been extensively examined as a deliberate function thereof.

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[358] Hans Henrik Brummer, “Minerva of the North,” in *Politics and Culture in the Age of Christina* ed. Marie-Louise Roden (Stockholm: Suecoromana, 1997), 77-92; Gorel Cavalli-Bjorkman, “Christina Portraits,” in *Politics and Culture in the Age of Christina* ed. Marie-Louise Roden (Stockholm: Suecoromana, 1997), 93-105.

A visual tradition of allegorical portraiture for noble women, begun in the later decades of the fifteenth century, had an emphasis on dynastic legitimacy rooted in the ancient Roman past. Themes of virginity, chastity, love, and child bearing were prevalent in allegorical portraits of women from 1500-1800. These typically feminine themes were all features of Michele Tosini's allegorical portraits for Florentine nobility. Other versions of the genre focused on fertility and lust with aspects of voyeurism and were intended to reflect positively on the man associated with the woman depicted more so than the subject herself.

In Bologna, Lavina Fontana painted a well-known image of Isabella Ruini as Venus and artists such as Bartolomeo Veneto produced portraits that portrayed noble wives in the guise of Renaissance goddesses (Fig. 44).[359] Images such as Raphael's *La Fornarina*, Piero di Cosimo's portrait of Simonetta Vespucci and paintings of Diane de Poitiers as Diana the Huntress are often discussed as portraits of famous mistresses.[360] The popularity of the genre of allegorical portraiture in relation to mistresses might indicate that the genre suited itself particularly well to depicting individuals, such as mistresses and unmarried women whose situations demanded a decorous way of depicting their placement outside of the bounds of socially acceptable Early Modern gender roles. Christina fell into this category of non-conformity by being born into a position of power and remaining unmarried. While ruling Sweden, images of the queen reflected both her and her country. After abdication images of the queen reflected only her. By looking at images produced by those in Christina's immediate circle we can see how she wanted to be depicted. By looking at images made in her honor, we can see how those outside her immediate influence saw her by examining the ways that they attempted to flatter, exalt, or defame her.

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[359] The identity of the sitter in Bartolomeo Veneto's image is somewhat disputed but is often discussed as a portrait of Lucrezia Borgia as Flora or Pomona. Heidi Hornik, *Michele Tosini and the Ghirlandaio Workshop in Cinquecento Florence* (Sussex: Sussex Academic Press, 2009), 94-96; Caroline P. Murphy, "In Praise of the Ladies of Bologna': The Image and Identity of the Sixteenth-century Bolognese Female Patriciate," *Renaissance Studies,* vol. 3 no. 4 (Dec. 1999), 440-454.

[360] With the exception of the images of Diane de Poitiers as Diana, the identities of the sitters and allegorical figures in these images are uncertain. There seems to be a general scholarly consensus that these are allegorical portraits of Renaissance women. Dennis Geronimus, *Piero Di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 60.

In reference to ancient Roman Venus portraits, Eve D'Ambra has suggested that without the mythological conceit, a matron's nudity would not have been socially acceptable.[361] It seems that this is also the case in Early Modern visual culture. Works such as Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* were acceptable for viewing because their nudity was appropriate when understood through classical subject matter and while displayed in the context of learned looking.[362] Likewise, the nudity, homoeroticism, and gender ambiguity of allegorical portraits was permissible because, while it was that individual's visage, the nakedness belonged to the God or Goddess that they were in the guise of.[363] In some cases, images which were found offensive could be "fixed" through the simple introduction of classical subject matter. Here I will give the example of Bronzino's double-sided painting of the Medici court jester Nano Morgante. While somewhat lewd at the time it was produced it apparently was too indecent for a later owner, an issue addressed by overpainting in the eighteenth-century that turned the naked dwarf into a much more decorous Bacchus.

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[361] In several passages of his *Natural History,* Pliny lamented that the portraiture of his time was no longer an accurate representation of the deceased but rather, that "heads of portraits are interchangeable," and that portraits in the past "were for looking at, not statues by foreign artists, or bronzes or marbles." Specifically, this statement is directed at the increasing frequency of Romans using Greek statues for their portraiture, flaunting wealth of material over accurate individual representation. Sculptures such as these were varied and relatively common with men, women and even children represented as gods. One of the best-known examples was the colossus from which the Coliseum likely derived its name, which is thought to have been a portrait of the Emperor Nero as *Sol Invictus* and was mentioned by writers such as Pliny and possibly the Venerable Bede. Whether or not extant examples of this portraiture tradition were known in the seventeenth century remains unknown but it is likely that at least a few were readily accessible. Eve d'Ambra has discussed at length a popular first and second century Roman portraiture tradition in which the portrait heads of Roman women were grafted onto generic copies of popular Greek Venus statues. D'Ambra argues that such statues held specific dynastic significance in their reference to Venus as the mother of Rome via her maternal relationship to Aeneas and were used primarily as commemorative statues.[361] Exemplary statues of this type such as the male portrait in the guise of Mercury and the female in the guise of Venus found on the Via Appia at the tomb of the Manilii were not known in the Renaissance, however; it is possible that Renaissance patrons and artists were aware of such Flavian and Hadrianic period commemorative statues and took them as models for their works. This assertion is supported by comments made by Pliny which were known in the Renaissance, that seem to refer to similar commemorative portraits. Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, *Volume 2* (London: Bell, 1902), 159; Jane Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 119-127; Eve d'Ambra "The Calculus of Venus*:* Nude Portraits of Roman Matrons" in *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy,* ed. Bettina Ann Bergmann (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 221; Pliny the Elder. *Natural History in Ten Volumes, Vol.2.* Trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), 264-265.

[362] Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, Salvatore Settis, *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 53-54.

In her essay on homosociality and erotics in Renaissance portraiture, Patricia Simons summarized the subject matter of Early Modern allegorical portraits by saying that while: "Men enacted roles ranging from hyper-masculine rogue to celibate saint. Women were filtered through notions of beauty and propriety, and they could be disguised as pious imitators of saints or as attractive nymphs and goddesses like flora."[364] This summary of the topic appears to fall cleanly into our conception of typical Renaissance and Early Baroque gender identity and sexual roles as outlined in texts such as Leon Battista Alberti's 1432 *Della Famiglia* or Juan Luis

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[363] It should be noted that allegorical portraits, including those that depicted the sitter completely nude, were commissioned by and of both men and women however many of the male guises such as the figure of Endimion feature prominently in modern literature on homosexuality in the Early Modern period. In his *vite*, Vasari describes a now lost painting by his own hand. About this work he says that nude images of Venus and Psyche done for Annibale Caro "caused Alfonso di Tommaso Cambi, then a most beautiful youth, and very learned and accomplished, as well as good, kindly, and courteous, to desire that I would make a portrait of himself, also nude and life-size, in the character of Endymion, that hunter beloved of the moon." This desired image of a fully nude allegorical portrait as Endymion may indeed have had a sculptural precedent in antiquity as it appears to have been a popular subject to have been depicted on sarcophagi. In the antique examples, the face of the figure of the sleeping Enymion was left blank so as to be altered to depict a portrait of the deceased. It is possible that an ancient precedent provided Vasari's portrait of Tommaso with additional significance and social acceptability. Francis H. Dowley, "The Iconography of Poussin's Painting Representing Diana and Endymion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* Vol. 36, (1973), 310; D'Ambra, "The Calculus of Venus*,"* 219.

[364] Patricia Simons, "Homosociality and Renaissance Culture," in *Portraiture: Facing the Subject*, ed. Joana Woodall (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 31.

Vives' 1523 manual *The Education of a Christian Woman*.[365] In Simons' observation men were able to express a range of celibate, masculine, heterosexual, even homosexual tendencies while women were confined to the roles of virgins, mothers, or love goddesses. In both cases the sitter is framed within an overly dichromatic definition of gender and sexuality without allowing for the case of women such as Christina who found themselves inheriting more typically masculine social and professional roles.[366] As analyzed in the discussion of Christina's installations in the second and third rooms of the *piano terreno,* the queen's associations with goddess like flora were present but were not interpreted in the effeminate manner assumed as standard for Early Modern women.

Typical feminine allegory functioned particularly well for women when virtues of fertility, sexual availability to their husbands, or chastity would be desirable traits to portray. For women in positions of power such as Christina, the genre functioned slightly differently. The virginal or matronly aspects of Venus or Flora did work for some rulers such as Elizabeth I, but were not part of the image which Christina cultivated. In general, works that highlighted powerful women's authority proved challenging as they threatened to draw negative associations seen in the power of women topos in art discussed at length by Susan Smith and others.[367] In this respect allegorical propaganda was dangerous as it opened dominant women up to being compared to one of any number of classical and biblical figures such as Omphale, Ione, Delilah, Phyllis, Salome, or the object of Virgil's desire who left him hanging in a basket to be mocked for the failure of his amorous endeavors.[368] Christina's use of Flora images in her ground floor suite, for instance, were part of her construction of an idyllic, natural Parnassus and were offset with less feminized figures that communicated strength, knowledge, and leadership. Her installations on the *piano terreno* and the presentation of Christina's Flora motifs framing her as patroness of botanical knowledge sidestepped a myriad of less-favorable associations. [369]

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[365] Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Leon Battista Alberti, *The Albertis of Florence: Leon Battista Alberti's Della Famiglia,* trans. Guido Guarino (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1971). See also: Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman: The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250-1500.* (Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2006).

[366] The nuances of social protocol and the political implications surrounding female kings and women acting as regents in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries has begun to receive more attention in scholarship. William Monter has addressed the 30 women who reigned as soverigns over European lands from the 1300s to 1800s. For Swedish context to the discussion of Early Modern women in positions of power see the new material produced by the Vasa Museum in Stockholm for the 2017 show *Kvinnorna: Alltid närvarande - sällan sedda.* The museum has begun to focuses on gender disparity in seventeenth century Sweden due to continued wars and is investigating the ways in which women participated in the economic, political, and commercial history of the country. Monter, *The Rise of Female Kings,* ix-xvii.

It is tempting to consider Christina's Swedish or Roman collections in a vacuum, analyzing the sculptural themes and her royal taste only in reference to contemporary collections or material value. Such an approach would discount the understanding of Christina that a visitor to those collections might already have when approaching her galleries. Outside of her installations in Stockholm or in Rome, the queen had a pervasive visual presence created through the dissemination of prints and medals as well as the sponsorship of scholarship and arts. A viewer's experience of her displays would be informed and influenced by their prior image of Christina. The allegorical themes encountered in the rooms of the Palazzo Riario would have been amplified by similar motifs presented in imagery produced to elevate and promote the queen. The following chapters focus on the visual arts but additionally take into account the allegorical poetry, music, plays, ballets, and ephemera which were part of Christina's classical identity. I discuss the production of this body of creative work as part of an attempt to address perceptions of barbarism as it related to Christina's royal status, her collecting, and her scholarly ambitions.

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[367] Smith cites a wide body of art, much of it highly disseminated through Renaissance print culture, which depicts these stories of women's sexual and temporal power over men as being humorous but also terrifying and unnatural. Susan Smith. *The Power of Women: A Topos in Medieval Art and Literature* (Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995); Katherine Lewis, *Young Medieval Women* (New York: Sutton: 1999), 69.

[368] Smith, *The Power of Women*, 141.

[369] Ann Shteir, "Iconographies of Flora," 3-27.

Christina's desire to recreate a classical golden age through her personal Parnassus at both her Swedish and Roman courts has been established in the collections of antiquities she amassed and will be illustrated in the following chapters in the art and scholarship she consumed and sponsored. Her full official title, Queen of Sweden, the Goths, and the Vandals was used to identify her long after she moved to Rome. The commemorative and memorial monuments to the queen, still found on the Capitoline and in St. Peters, explicitly identify her as such.[370] The Vandals, a tribe with Scandinavian origins, became synonymous with destruction of art and culture following the sack of Rome in 455 C.E. The term 'vandal,' was used as early as the seventeenth century to indicate general anti-intellectual tendencies. In British poet John Dryden's introduction to his volume of translated poems of ancient authors, originally written in 1694, he laments the loss of the classical golden age saying "Rome rais'd not Art, but barely kept alive; and with old Greece, unequally did strive; 'til Goths, and Vandals, a rude Northern Race, did all the matchless monuments deface."[371] Confronting public skepticism of Christina's status as a northerner in Rome was a challenge that had to be addressed in broad, unambiguous terms.

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[370] The terms Goths and Vandals refer to Swedish control of the southern region of Göthaland, the people known in English as the "Geats," while the Vandals refers to the populations of Swedish controlled Pomerania, or, in English the "Wends." These titles were used by Swedish royalty from the 1540s through 1973. Lansford, *The Latin Inscriptions of Rome*, 31.

The following chapters will examine the ways in which images of Christina worked along with the queen's antiquities collections discussed in parts one and two to ameliorate, rationalize, and propagandize her perceived barbarism while also stressing the queen's intellectual prowess. The number of works that represented Christina in an allegorizing way is too large to discuss in its entirety. The following discussion will explore select examples from a vast body of artistic production which helped shape Christina's classical identity and which was produced in the circle of the queen or by individuals wishing to flatter her. My study of Christina's use of allegory and antiquarian iconography makes an attempt to breach disciplinary boundaries, which until recently have limited scholarly exegesis on these interrelated court productions. However, the focus will remain on images, leaving much work still to be done in this area.[372]

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[371] John Dryden, *The Fourth Part of Miscellany Poems: Containing variety of new translations of the ancient poets: together with several original poems Vol. 4* (London: Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand, 1727), 2.

[372] Some recent publications have begun to bridge this scholarly gap, most notably Camilla Kandare's work on Christina and the body politic which incorporates modes of investigation related to the history of dance with an examination of Christina's self-representation, linking the presentation of her physical body with her presentation through images. Kandare, "CorpoReality," 47-63.

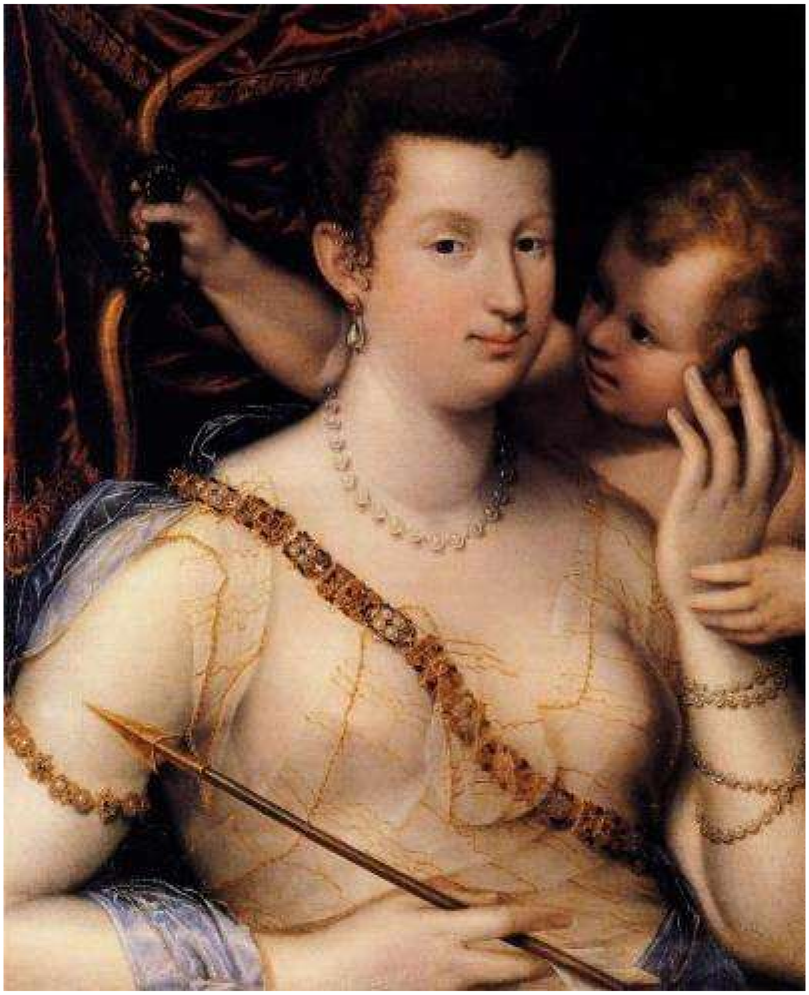

Figure 44: *Isabella Ruini as Venus.*
Lavinia Fontana. 1592, oil on canvas. Musée des beaux-arts, Rouen, France, D.874.15 (Photo: http://mbarouen.fr)

Chapter Five

National History, Individual Identity, and a Gothic Apollo

With some notable exceptions, Queen Christina's legacy in scholarship and popular culture is flush with rumor and hyperbolic criticism. Many of her perceived social slights can be traced directly to the cultural bias Christina faced as a northern "barbarian." Most seventeenth century European rulers advantageously traced their individual and national genealogies to any number of biblical figures, Roman emperors, and a pantheon of Egyptian, Greek and Roman mythological forbearers. Sweden's location on the European periphery, coupled with the continued Early Modern association of Gothicism with the fall of the Roman Empire, inspired uniquely northern applications of widely used mythical genealogical traditions. My aim here is to establish and analyze Queen Christina's classical self-fashioning as it relates to those traditions through the framework of the Hyperborean approach to Swedish historicism. I contextualize the queen's adoption of Apollo as a royal symbol both in Sweden and in Rome, ascribing her allegorical associations to a broader personal and academic agenda.

While it is helpful to consider the individual merits of an object, caution should be exercised when discussing any singular Baroque artistic production in a vacuum, discounting a larger collaborative or performative context.[373] Similarly, questions of agency and the individual will of a patron arise with imagery produced in the court of a ruler and the intervention of multiple hands must be addressed. The ephemeral objects and decorations created for Christina's coronation, travel, festivals, and reception in Rome, create a rather cohesive royal image when viewed alongside her collections. The extent to which these objects and images reflect the queen's personal vision varies widely. Their social and political significance must be assessed on an individual basis, taking into account the motives and associations of each patron and artist. A full study of the networks of patronage and knowledge behind each image and object addressed in the following study is not possible. Despite this, every effort has been made to note such aspects of work produced in the immediate circle of the queen, and to situate images of Christina within the broader context of a poetic, historical, philosophical and philological whole. This totality was based on but not completely controlled by, the queen's own taste.

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[373] On this topic in relation to Christina's Rome see: Irving Lavin, *Bernini and the Unity of the Visual Arts* (New York and London: 1980); Gillgren and Snickare, *Performativity and Performance*, 47-63.

Seventeenth-Century Historicism and the Swedish "Other"

The discovery and exploration of the New World in the 1500s opened up broad new areas of opportunity and inquiry for scholars, theologians, and collectors. It also necessitated the re-assessment of a wide body of existing classical knowledge, as it posed serious religio-historical incongruencies with long-established academic narratives and methodologies. Descriptions of the world as the ancients wrote about it did not fit cleanly into the rapidly expanding Early Modern discoveries related to geography, flora, fauna and culture. One of the foremost challenges for many Early Modern scholars was to provide a chronological justification of biblical events with accounts from the Greco-Roman canon. Geographers such as Abraham Ortelius attempted to situate places written about by the ancient authors, such as Hyperborea, within the expanded physical world.[374] As Peter Burke, Anthony Grafton, Peter Bietenholz and others have considered at length, this shift in the way Early Modern people conceived of the past led to new types of scholars whose works amalgamated rigorous logic and empiricism with interpretation and well-crafted fabrication.[375] As Peter Burke has explored, this created three distinct yet necessarily interconnected antiquities for the Early Modern scholar the classical, the Christian, and the barbarian.[376]

Within the context of this Early Modern historical approach, an expansive body of genealogical literature was compiled by humanists whose methodologies of biblical historicism were appropriated for propagandistic purposes. Pseudo-historical narratives, often referred to today as fantastical or mythic genealogies, were created within this Early Modern historiographic framework to suit the political and social aspirations of rulers, noble families, and scholars. These Renaissance social mythologies were built on a much earlier tradition of medieval historical genealogies which began to appear with frequency between the seventh and ninth centuries that claimed to trace national and individual backgrounds to Noah.[377]

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[374] Francesca Fiorani, *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography, and Politics in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 298.

[375] Perhaps the best know example of this creative, mythologized approach to the justification of classical history, biblical history, and antique visual/textual sources with the implications of new world discoveries can be seen in the work of Annius of Viterbo. Marian Rothstein, "The Reception of Annius of Viterbo's Forgeries: The *Antiquities* in Renaissance France," Renaissance Quarterly 71, no. 2 (Summer 2018): 580-609. For an in-depth overview of Early Modern historical theory and the challenge of reconciling ancient texts with the Early Modern world see: Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 2007; Peter Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula: Myths and Legends in Historical Thought from Antiquity to the Modern Age* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

[376] Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe: An Introduction to the History of European Unity* (Washington: CUA Press, 1932); Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity,* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), 17.

[377] Bietenholz, Historia and Fabula,118-145.

By the fifteenth century, genealogical lines were established that traced the Roman emperors back to figures from Greco-Roman mythology, history, and each of the sons of Noah. This meant that all one had to do was to connect their family to an emperor, thereby securing their very own impressive pedigree and making such genealogical trees less useful as elite propaganda. Adding to the established biblical, national, and regional histories and an increasingly formalized international framework of accepted national genealogies, Renaissance and Baroque authors traced their patrons' familial lineages not only to Noah and the tribes of Israel but also to politically advantageous war heroes, ancient Roman emperors, biblical figures and a pantheon of ancestors from Egyptian, Greek and Roman mythology. In many places, including Sweden, the late medieval Noahtic national histories were accepted, albeit heavily debated, until well into the eighteenth-century.[378]

Works based on the established medieval genealogical system include texts of lasting influence such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *Historia regum Britanniae,* in which the British population was traced back to a river-side settlement founded by a descendent of Aeneas after the fall of Troy. Jacob Mennel's early fifteenth-century work under the patronage of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I traced the Habsburgs lineage to Aeneas and was part of an extensive genealogical program by Maximilian to relate himself to everyone from Charlemagne to the Italian Colonna family, popes, Roman emperors, the Trojans, Osiris, and Hercules.[379]

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[378] This description of Early Modern historiography and genealogical practice is admittedly generalized and simplified for the sake of providing academic context for Christina's antiquarian self-fashioning. For a more in-depth discussion see: Ibid., 199-206.

[379] Harald Kleinschmidt, *Understanding the Middle Ages: The Transformation of Ideas and Attitudes in the Medieval World* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 261-62; Marie Tanner*, The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Christopher Wood*,* "*Maximilian* I as *Archaeologist*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 58 (*2005*): 1128–74.

Medici family genealogies, beginning in the fifteenth century, linked the Florentine bankers to Averardo, a giant-killing knight of Charlemagne. Meanwhile, the French Kings had a long-established link to the Merovingians, who were said to descend from the Trojans. The Trojans remained a popular western European genealogical root as their King Priam had a widely-accepted postdiluvian line traced back to Noah's son Shem.[380]

While many familial genealogies were developed by an increasingly educated nobility, rulers looked to court-sponsored scholarship to craft genealogical proof which would validate their rule.[381] Such was the case in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Sweden as the Vasa rulers searched for a national history which would not only rationalize their rule to the vocal Swedish nobility but would also substantiate Swedish claims on conquered lands around the Baltic. Beginning with Gustav Adolph Vasa's elevation to King of Sweden in 1523, Christina's family line and the ruling Pfaltz dynasty which succeeded them, were framed as Goths and traced to the tribe of Noah's grandson Magog.[382] The published works of the brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus, *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus* of 1554 and the more well-known *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*, published the following year, are considered foundational texts for Sweden's establishment of itself within the wider canon of European genealogical traditions.[383] The *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* has been discussed extensively in relation to its author's Catholic beliefs and was printed in Rome in 1655. The text features a number of woodcuts that propagandized the Northern rulers as part of the classical tradition.[384]

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[380] Paul Strathern, *The Medici: Power, Money, and Ambition in the Italian Renaissance* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2016), 19-25; Bietenholz, *Historia and Fabula,* 190.

[381] Tero Antilla, *Power of Antiquity,*10-18; Johan Nordström, De yverbornes ö Sextonhundratalsstudier (Stockholm: Bonnier, 1934), 20-125.

[382] Johannes Magnus' genealogical work in the 1550s was greatly influential in bringing European-wide awareness to the antique claims of the Swedish crown. In contrast to the more general term Gothic, the work of the Magnus brothers can be seen as part of what Antilla calls the Geatic historical tradition in Sweden. This branch of Early Modern historical thought traced the term Gothic to the ancient Geats in an attempt to frame Sweden as a prediluvian cradle of civilization. Antilla, *Power of Antiquity,* 17.

As Antilla, Nordström and others have discussed, the Swedish monarchy of the seventeenth century was faced with an increasingly challenging identity as a northern "other" while seeking to be recognized by the southern courts as a European empire.[385] Christina's promotion of antiquarian collecting, classical scholarship, Italian musicians and artists can be seen as efforts on the part of the queen to gain recognition of Sweden as part of Europe's religio-humanist classical tradition. Her efforts can certainly be considered a triumph posthumously, as she is known within twentieth-century scholarship as a "Personality of European Civilization." This is due not only to of her extended stays in Germany, the Spanish Netherlands, France, and Italy, but also because of her lifelong development of an internationally presentable classicized public persona.[386]

Christina's life-long passion for the purchase and display of Italian art has been well-established. In addition, a vast body of allegorical poetry, music, plays, ballets, paintings, sculptures, medals, prints and ephemera associated the queen with her classical foils Minerva,

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[383] Olaus Magnus was Archbiship of Uppsala. For a discussion of the historical and cultural role of the Magnus brother's work, see: Astrid Nillson, *Johannes Magnus and the Composition of Truth: Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (Doctoral Thesis, Lund University, 2016).

[384] A further study of the imagery in the woodcuts may be fruitful, particularly in relation to genaeological imagery and allegorical propaganda used by later Swedish kings such as Christina. Olaus Magnus, *Description of the Northern Peoples, 1555: Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, trans. Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgens, ed. Peter Foote (London: Hakluyt Society, 1996-1998).

[385] Antilla, *Power of Antiquity*; Nordström, *De yverbornes.*

[386] For evidence of this lasting pan European appeal, one only has to look at titles of conferences and publications on the queen, including the foundational 1966 exhibition publication. Nationalmuseum, *Christina*, *Queen of Sweden*.

Alexander the Great, Apollo, Hercules and Constantine.[387] All of these figures feature prominently throughout the decorative themes in Christina's Swedish coronation and Roman reception, and in the sculptural decorations on the piano terreno at the Palazzo Riario. Her desire to surround herself with scholars, collections of art, and antiquities, was not only for the benefit of her country but also for herself. While Christina took many of Sweden's most notable objects when she abdicated, she also left with many scientific, scholastic, and artistic connections. This act, perhaps unintentionally, likely hindered progress in some areas of classical studies in Sweden for several decades. By taking the majority of the Greek and Latin manuscripts in Sweden with her to Rome, Christina left Charles X and Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie with significant challenges with respect to the advancement and academic standing of Swedish institutions. It would take many years for Sweden to recover artistically, financially, and academically from Christina's sudden departure.[388]

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[387] Kajanto, Iiro, *Christina* Heroina: *Mythological* and historical exemplification in the Latin panegyrics on *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* (Helsinki: 1993).

[388] It was largely to the credit of Charles X's wife, Queen Hedwig Eleonora, mother to the young King Charles XI, that many of the Baroque artistic and architectural projects which have come to represent the seventeenth century in Sweden came to fruition. While Christina's exodus was a serious blow to the country's nascent antiquarian research, Uppsala University housed a respectable manuscript collection and would be the locus of research in the area for the remainder of the century. The institutionalization and formal royal appointment of antiquarian scholarship in Sweden began in the 1630s with the creation of dedicated posts in Uppsala. Following Christina's departure, it was bolstered yet again by the development of the Collegium Antiquitatum at Uppsala founded in 1667. For a discussion of political and social catalysts in development and institutionalization of antiquarian studies in Sweden see: Johanna Widenberg, *Fäderneslandets antikviteter. Etnoterritoriella historiebruk och integrationssträvanden i den svenska statsmaktens antikvariska verksamhet ca 1600–1720* (Uppsala: Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 2006), 225-26.

The Hyperborean Tradition in Sweden

Antiquaries were not only an essential part of the Early Modern scholarly community, but they also could also be a political asset to the crown. Scholars received funding while patrons benefitted from publications which validated their social standing, policy or position in easily disseminated printed volumes.[389] The task of many Swedish antiquarians was to fit Gothic history and the extensive body of local antiquities such as rune stones into established southern European humanist narratives focusing on Greco-Roman civilization. To this end, the Hyperborean theory of Swedish antiquarianism was founded in the seventeenth century.[390] Stemming from earlier genealogical treaties such as the Magnus brother's biblically-based national histories, Hyperboreanism in Sweden was a versatile and surprisingly long-lasting scholarly program of revisionist historicism which placed the Swedish people among the most revered pre-diluvian races through their decent from the mythical pre-Roman ancient Hyperboreans.

The Hyperborean approach to Swedish historicism and other Graeco-Roman-Swedish narratives were popularized by Olof Rudbeck in the later decades of the seventeenth century but can be found much earlier in the work of Swedish polymath and antiquarian Johannes Bureus, librarian and tutor to Gustav Adolph. It was initially Bureus who brought the idea of a

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[389] Many works were dedicated to rulers such as Christina in the hopes that they would repay the author for their work in some way. This served as something of an incentive to publish politically and socially advantageous histories for ruling families. To see just how important such mutually beneficial relationships were to both parties, the example of Roman academies might be taken as example. The library of the Collegio Propaganda Fide not only displayed portraits of famous scholars and authors, but also portraits of their benefactors and notable individuals who had made donations to the collection. Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty,* 429.

[390] Henrik Schück, *Kungl. Vitterhets-, historie- och antikvitets akademien: dess förhistoria och historia....* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1932), 44. Pages 32-36 expand his discussion of Gothicism.

Hyperborean origin in Scandinavia to an international audience. [391] This tradition was both an exciting way of incorporating wider European cultural histories and methodologies into Swedish scholarship and a vehicle for the political and military aims of four successive kings of Sweden, including Christina.[392] The queen's affinity for the work of Bureus and her familiarity with his theories is well established in regard to the scholar's involvement in the Rosicrucian movement and his theories on runes published in *Adalruna Rediviva*.[393] More so than a Noahtic genealogy, Hyperboreanism provided a historical justification for Swedish rule in the Baltic while additionally justifying monarchical rule in Sweden itself.[394]

The ancient civilization, known as the Hyperboreans, were described by authors such as Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Their accounts of the race varied as did their conviction that such a civilization had ever actually existed. Collectively, classical authors painted a picture of a pleasant, contented, race of intelligent and pious people. Regarding the Hyperboreans, Pliny the Elder wrote:

> "Behind these mountains, and beyond the region of the northern winds, there dwells, if we choose to believe it, a happy race, known as the Hyperborei, a race that lives to an extreme old age, and which has been the subject of many marvelous stories. At this spot are supposed to be the hinges upon which the world revolves, and the extreme limits of the revolutions of the stars. Here we find light for six months together, given by the sun in one continuous day, who

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[391] It was Bureus, teacher of Gustav Adolph, who encouraged the founding of the Swedish Riksantikvarieämbetet or Board of National Antiquities in 1630 and served as its first chair. Antilla has examined the family of scholarship started by Bureus, termed the Hyperborean research tradition, and has convincingly demonstrated its direct utility as a political tool with findings by Bureus published in concert with the imperial expansion and militaristic aims of Charles IX and Gustav II. Ibid.; Lindberger, *Anglo-Saxon and later British coins*, 1-5. The full text can be accessed at: http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-127591

[392] Bureus had a personal relationship with John III, Charles IX, Gustav Adolph and Christina and left behind personal accounts detailing aspects of his relationship with each of them. Antilla, *Power of Antiquity*, 76.

[393] Susanna Åkerman, *Rose Cross Over the Baltic* (London: Brill, 1998).

[394] Antilla, *Power of Antiquity,* 98.

> does not, however, as some ignorant persons have asserted, conceal himself from the vernal equinox to autumn. On the contrary, to these people there is but one rising of the sun for the year, and that at the summer solstice, and but one setting, at the winter solstice. This region, warmed by the rays of the sun, is of a most delightful temperature, and exempt from every noxious blast. The abodes of the natives are the woods and groves; the gods receive their worship singly and in groups, while all discord and every kind of sickness are things utterly unknown. Death comes upon them only when satiated with life; after a career of feasting, in an old age sated with every luxury, they leap from a certain rock there into the sea; and this they deem the most desirable mode of ending existence. Some writers have placed these people, not in Europe, but at the very verge of the shores of Asia, because we find there a people called the Attacori, who greatly resemble them and occupy a very similar locality. Other writers again have placed them midway between the two suns, at the spot where it sets to the Antipodes and rises to us; a thing however that cannot possibly be, in consequence of the vast tract of sea which there intervenes. Those writers who place them nowhere but under a day which lasts for six months, state that in the morning they sow, at mid-day they reap, at sunset they gather in the fruits of the trees, and during the night conceal themselves in caves. Nor are we at liberty to entertain any doubts as to the existence of this race; so many authors are there who assert that they were in the habit of sending their first-fruits to Delos to present them to Apollo, whom in especial they worship. Virgins used to carry them, who for many years were held in high veneration, and received the rites of hospitality from the nations that lay on the route; until at last, in consequence of repeated violations of good faith, the Hyperboreans came to the determination to deposit these offerings upon the frontiers of the people who adjoined them, and they in their turn were to convey them on to their neighbors, and so from one to the other, till they should have arrived at Delos. However, this custom, even, in time fell into disuse."[395]

One of the notable aspects of Pliny's description of the Hyperboreans is his focus on the race's close relationship to Apollo and the sun. Sweden, a country accustomed to the midnight sun, became associated with Pliny's people to who "there is but one rising of the sun for the year." Swedish interest in cementing the historical ties between Apollo and their Hyperborean forbearers can be seen in early explorations by Rudbeck and others which attempted to locate the physical remains of a temple to Apollo in Sweden.[396] Such endeavors were primarily attempts on the part of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Swedish scholars to incorporate the classical tradition into Gothic history while recognizing the importance of domestic antiquities such as rune stones in their fantastic classicized Gothic narratives.[397]

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[395] Pliny, *Natural History*, IV:26.

In his passing discussion of seventeenth and eighteenth-century architectural vestiges of the Hyperborean tradition in Sweden, Tero Antilla briefly notes that aspects of Hyperborean Apollonian imagery were adapted by later Swedish monarchs. He specifically mentions the themes of frescoes at Drottningholm Palace painted in the later decades of the 1600s, as well as in Tessin's the Younger's design for the Swedish Royal Palace in the 1690s. Antilla mentions in a footnote that Christina employed the device of the sun but he hesitates to ascribe any specific Hyperborean meaning to Christina's use of Apollonian imagery, citing its routine appearance in the allegorical propaganda of other seventeenth-century monarchs such as Louis the XIV.[398] The breadth and context of Christina's associations with Apollo, seen in the instillation of her antiquities in the Palazzo Riario and in a multitude of prints, medals and publications would suggest a more personal and academic meaning to her solar imagery than the simple application of royal images from emblem books.

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[396] David King, *Finding Atlantis: A True Story of Genius, Madness, And an Extraordinary Quest for a Lost World* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2006), 166-69.

[397] This would ultimately culminate in the eighteenth-century with Olaus Rudbeck's *Atlantica* in which Sweden was framed as the lost Atlantis with the pillars of Hercules being located at the strait near Denmark. Kristoffer Neville, "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, no. 2 (2009): 218; Olaus Rudbeck, *Atlantica* (Uppsala: 1679-1702). Reprinted in: Axel Nelson, ed., *Atlantica* (Uppsala: Lychnos Bibliotek, 1937-1939).

[398] Antilla, *Power of Antiquity,* 194.

The Return of a Gothic Ruler to Italy

After Christina's move to Rome, the perception of her as a barbarian queen would linger in the minds of locals. This is evidenced by comments which followed the political fiasco of Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi's widely criticized execution. The brutal execution of an Italian nobleman by Christina while she was a guest within the apartments of Fontainebleau was admonished by the French monarch. Christina maintained that, as a queen without a country, she reserved the right to exercise her rights as a queen wherever she held court. This prerogative was also poorly received by Alexander VII, the pope who had welcomed her to Rome.[399] After Christina returned from her fruitless and frustrating two-year excursion to France in May of 1658, the Pope wrote about the queen in a letter to the Venetian ambassador, stating that she was "a woman born of a barbarian, barbarously brought up and living with barbarous thoughts [...] with a ferocious and almost intolerable pride."[400] The actions of the queen were seen as confirmation of bias, and as proof that rumor stems from truth.

The formation of alternative histories such as the Hyperborean tradition in Sweden was of limited use to Christina, particularly outside of small circles of academics. To an extent, the queen had no choice but to embrace her otherness following her decision to leave Scandinavia. This can be seen in claims that, owing to the Gothic invasions of the Italian peninsula, modern Italians were, in fact, part Gothic and therefore the descendants of her people. Christina herself seems to have seen the people of northern Italy as her subjects by way of descendants from the Gothic invasions of the previous century.[401] If this seems somewhat farfetched, it should be noted that Italians of the seventeenth century seem to have retained within their cultural history a lasting collective memory of the role that northern "barbarians" played in the Gothic invasions of the fifth and sixth-centuries. This historical memory is nowhere more readily perceptible than in accounts of her journey through Spoleto on her initial trip to Rome in 1655.

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[399] Francis Henry Gribble, *The Court of Christina of Sweden and the Later Adventures of the Queen in Exile* (New York: Mitchell Kinnerley, 1913), 217.

[400] Masson, *Queen Christina,* 301.

According to Galeazzo, Christina's entourage entered the city of Spoleto through the ancient gate which was reconstructed for her visit. After entering the city, Christina was met by a large group of nobles, government officials and the bishop, Cardinal Caesar Fachenetti. The festivities in Spoleto appear to have focused a great deal on the city's ancient past, particularly in relation to its history as a stronghold of the Goths. Spoleto, along with Rome and Perugia, was taken by siege by the sixth-century Ostrogothic King Badulia (Totila). The city walls were dismantled by his troops and the town's strategic hilltop location made the city a frequently contested stronghold throughout the Gothic War. Although a snowstorm halted the queen's scheduled visit to see the town's relics, she was welcomed with a series of ephemeral arches and military salutes. As Galeazzo's account notes:

> "Diverse Arch triumphas were erected in the streets, which were all adorned with Figures, Inscriptions, and other sprightly Mottos. Among all the foresaid Arches, the remarkablest was that, which was repaired o're an ancient gate of the City, where besides the Inscription set there, in honour of the Queen, there was another alluding to the place where Haniball of Carthage after the battail won at Thrasymenus, desiring to advance towards Rome, was put to flight, whereupon the same gate retains to this day the name of the gate of the flight…Spoleto is a famous City … here they see the vast Palace of Theodorick the King of the Gothes, as likewise the foundation of a very fair theater, and of the Temple of concord, and without the City high and strong forms of aqueducts, partly cut from

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[401] Nathalie Hester, *Literature and Identity in Italian Baroque Travel Writing* (London: Ashgate, 2008), 144-46.

> the sides of Apenninus, and partly raised from the bottome of the valley with arches of brick…The Citizens of Spoleto endeavour'd to welcome this great Queen, with all the expressions of gladness and joy, and though to comply with the genius of the Prince, the subjects sometimes use to turn the sincerest, and purest affection into flattery, yet in this occasion, the people of Spoleto very fully corresponded with their natural ingenuity, as well with a dutifull respect, to second the good intention of his Holiness, as to shew the partiality of their ancient inclinations towards this Princesses great name. Those of Spoleto, as the histories of greatest credit, report, are nobly descended, and happily propagated of the reliques of the Goths, who after the fall of their Kingdome in Italy remained in Spoleto, as a City very nobly adorned, and augmented by Theodorick their King. And albeit the hostility of Totilas may diminish, much less renew afterwards, the least sense of gratitude, yet the piety, and other sublime qualities of this Queen, are advantagiously sufficient to repair very fully whatsoever, the deadly remembrance of the cruelties of that King, had demolished, and restore with ample recompence the memory of the benefits, this Countrey so glories to have had from the North."[402]

It is noteworthy to observe not only this description of Christina, Gothic Queen, but also the implication of the Gothic invasion's genetic remnants within Spoleto's seventeenth-century populace. The example of Spoleto might help us to get a glimpse of the reception of the queen's travel and conversion within the general populace, additionally providing an overarching contextualization for her decisions in regard to shaping her Classicized persona. The link between Swedes and Italians via common Goth ancestry was explicitly lauded by the Italian writer Francesco Negri who is best known for his travel writings related to his tip to Sweden in 1670. Negri was in Rome to witness Christina's grand entry into the city in 1655 and was said to have praised the queen when meeting with her by informing her of his heritage from Ravenna, reminding her of that city's past as a seat of Gothic power.[403] His texts are some of the few seventeenth-century works that actively try to convince the reader of the Gothic invasions of the pervious centuries as a net positive that strengthened both Swedes and Italians.[404] Unfortunately for Christina, Neri's positive view of her Gothic pedigree was not held by most of southern Europe's humanists, rulers, and nobles whose genealogical pedigrees were firmly tied up in Graeco-Roman and Etruscan-centric histories.

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[402] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 326, 332-33

[403] Hester, *Literature and Identity in Italian Baroque Travel Writing*, 144-46.

Kingship, Apollo, and the Light of Knowledge

In a presentation medal by Guillaume Dupres struck in 1610, then regent Marie de Medici appears as Minerva with a young Louis XIII indicated as Apollo-Sol. Christina's use of the same imagery can be seen in an engraved portrait from the series *Les Hommes Illustres* executed circa 1648 by Anselm van Hulle (1601-1674/94) (Fig.45). The print was created as part of his series documenting representatives to the Peace of Münster. It depicts Christina in three quarter view at the center of a medallion-like frame, crowned with a laurel by the figures of Minerva and Apollo. Apollonian imagery likewise accompanied the queen in ephemeral decorations made for her receptions in cities across Europe, most notably in Assisi.[405]

Christina's appearance in Hulle's portrait, associated with both Apollo and Minerva, appropriates similar values of rulership as the Marie de Medici-Louis XIII medal but foregoes any gendered aspect of the gods with Christina assuming traditional allegorical tropes of both gods together in one image. A Hyperborean connection in relation to Apollo's likeness appearing in places such as Assisi is more difficult to ascribe with any certainty. Such displays were likely the result of a combination of movable images of the queen, such as medals and prints that bear the sun motif. This portability meant that her association with Apollo was widely known. Similar themes of rulership tied to the sun's wisdom were implemented in celebrations for the Queen across Europe in conjunction with general humanist programs of royal flattery developed with the aid of emblem books and their proscribed allegorical programs.

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[404] Neri's writing is fascinating as it is the only text produced in the period by an Italian writer that actively tries to downplay the importance of ancient Rome and instead tries to link Italians to the strength of the northerners in Sweden. His interest in the topic seems to be a nationalistic one as his references to Ravenna, his home town, indicate that the city's glory was in its past as a Gothic stronghold. Ibid.

[405] Christina was particularly enthralled with the sugar sculptures which decorated her table at a banquet in the Convent of St. Frances in Assisi, asking for them to be brought to her private room for further examination after dinner. The sculpted pieces showed Apollo with his chariot as well as faux medals of the queen. Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty,* 311-21.

Given its associations with Apollo, the light of truth, and knowledge, it is unsurprising that the sun was a common and popular motif for royalty. Louis XIV, who would become known as the Sun King, first made public use of solar imagery in the mid-1650s. The exact chronology of his adoption of Apollonian imagery is debated, although the King's initial interest in the iconography is generally thought to have occurred around 1653 when the young Louis appeared in the Ballet *Pelée et Thétis* as Apollo.[406] The sun motif had appeared earlier in association with the French monarchy but was not as strongly associated with the person of the king and was used more generally for the god's embodiment of knowledge and the arts.

Christina's association with the sun and her use of it as a personal device would remain consistent throughout her life. However, as noted in passing by Georgina Masson, she employed imagery associated with Apollo as early as 1649.[407] Unlike Louis XIV, Christina rarely appeared dressed as Apollo despite her demonstrated continued association with his imagery. This distinction is not meant to imply that her decision not to dress as Apollo was a gendered one. As I will expand upon in the next section, Christina had no compunctions about assuming male guises that suited her allegorical aims. The opportunity for close personal associations with the sun god were certainly present in imagery produced to flatter the queen post-abdication, and Christina seems to have personally preferred themes of Parnassus and Arcadia in her Swedish and Roman residences. These broad mythological themes were manifest particularly in her sculptural collections discussed in the last chapter.

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[406] Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV,* 41-46.

[407] Masson, *Christina*, 359.

At first glance, it would seem unlikely that Christina's association with Apollo retained meaning related to the Hyperborean theory of Swedish history within her Roman context. The Swedish research tradition of Bureus and others had not gained a great deal of traction in Europe as a whole and would not until the early eighteenth century. Additionally, the parallels might have been considered too unsavory for Christina to appropriate directly the image of Apollo, given the similarities between her abdication and his abandonment of the Hyperboreans to travel south and establish a court of learning, music and poetry on Mt. Parnassus. It is possible, that the reappearance of Apollonian imagery on Christina's medals produced for both Sweden and Rome circa 1680 was influenced by the 1679 publication of Olas Rudbeck's *Atlantica* which did receive broader European attention and reinvigorated earlier trends in Swedish fantastical historiography.

A couple of additional examples will help to illustrate the ways in which Christina employed Apollonian devices throughout her life and how others used them to flatter and exalt the queen. In 1650 Erich Parise produced a portrait medal to commemorate the queen's official coronation celebrations (Fig.46). The medal is styled on ancient Roman coins, and it promotes the queen through emblems and allegory.[408] The obverse shows the queen in profile. The reverse features a large anthropomorphized sun. The only text is the word "CHRISTINIA" which arcs up the left side of the medal's obverse side behind the queen's head as she faces to the right. She is dressed as Minerva, with a helm that features a cock on the visor and an olive branch that curls up the right side of the medal and balances the text on the left. Three tendrils of long, curly, hair escape from under the edge of her helm and fall across her shoulder, echoing the sinuous rays emanating from the sun on the reverse and creating a visual dialogue between the two sides of the medal.[409] The Parise sun medal was specifically made for distribution to academics, artists, and scholars both within Christina's court and elsewhere in Europe.[410] It was likely the dissemination of small, movable images such as the coronation medal which influenced subsequent continental depictions of Christina and Apollo. The smiling sun motif seen on the medal is the same image which would reappear on images dedicated to the queen for the reminder of her life. Found on a multitude of prints and medals, it also adorned the decorative fibula on Cartari's marble portrait of the queen in room nine of Christina's display of marbles on the *piano terreno* of the Palazzo Riario (see Fig. 40).

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[408] In his work on Christina's portrait medals, Nils Rasmusson first suggests that the medal was likely the work of the medalist and glassmaker Erich Parise. He concludes that Parise was commissioned to complete the work in 1649 at the behest of the queen's antiquities agent Matheus Palbitzki while in Rome shopping on the queen's behalf. Nils Ludvig Rasmusson, "Medaillen auf Christina," *Queen Christina of Sweden Documents and Studies* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 308; Ylva, Haidenthaller, "Pallas Nordica: Drottning Kristinas minervamedaljer," *Uppsala University Coin Cabinet Working Papers 7* (2013): 1-39; Carl Bildt*, Les Médailles Romaines de la Reine Christine de Suède* (Rome: Loescher, 1908), 30-31.

[409] Looking at portraits of Christina made during her life time, particularly at engraved or struck portraits, it is typical for the queen to have three ringlets or sections of curls depicted on her forward shoulder. A study of possible etymological or cultural connections between the Swedish monarchy and the three ringlets might prove fruitful. The three crowns or Tre Kronor were a symbol of the Swedish monarchy for centuries before Christina's reign and have the possibility of association with the somewhat standardized tri-part hairstyle depicted in her portraiture.

[410] There are multiple accounts of Christina giving out portrait medals of herself hung on a long chain to those whose work she admired. She seems to have given them out as favors on her journey post-abdication with the Flemish artist David Teniers the Younger having received one as a gift after producing paintings for the queen. Davidson, *David Teniers the Younger,* 28.

Christina's association with solar imagery in the 1650s would have served an iconographical dual purpose for the queen. Apollonian imagery could relate to both the classical and the Gothic because Apollo was both a classical god and at the root of Hyperborean historicism. This versatile appeal is confirmed by the appearance of such imagery in floats, such as the one of Parnassus with Apollo and the Muses, produced for a festival train at Christina's coronation celebrations. The float was a paper mache mountain at least 40 feet high surmounted by the muses and was documented in a series of watercolors attributed to Nicholas Vallari (Fig.47).[411] Accompanying the mobile Mt. Parnassus, was a self-driving chariot and allegories of rulership, knowledge, and the arts. Similar themes also seen in the ballet *Parnassus Triumphans* produced for the coronation by Helie Poirier.[412]

These associations in Christina's coronation parallel similar mythic genealogical displays seen in her father's coronation celebrations in 1617, where the King himself appeared dressed as the Gothic King Berig, a remote historical figure elevated, and possibly invented, by Jordanes in his *Getica* of 551 and rediscovered by Johannes Magnus in the sixteenth-century.[413] Such messages also recur in Apollonian imagery and decorations produced for her post-abdication reception in Italy. This acknowledgment of her kingship through solar allegory by the sun itself was followed by ephemeral sculptures and festivals that celebrated Christina as a new Apollo, Alexander the Great, and Minerva.[414]

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[411] Stefano Fogelberg Rota, "Representations of power: the role of Nicolas Vallari in Queen Christina's Ballets and Processions," *Musique-Images-Instruments: Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale* no. 15 (2015): 62-89.

[412] Ibid.

[413] Berig was said to have united the peoples of the Goths and the Vandals. On the tradition of Berig and the history of the Goths in Sweden see: Arne Søby Christensen, *Cassiodorus, Jordanes and the History of the Goths: Studies in a Migration Myth* (Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), *301-316;* Hand Helander, *Neo-latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620-1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary & Chracteristic Ideas* (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2004), 288; Curt Weibull. "Kung Berig, Goterna och Scandza." *Scandia*, Vol 38, no.2 (1972): 233-43.

As discussed in parts one and two, Apollo and the muses appeared extensively in the installations of antiquities in Stockholm and Rome. The terracotta bozetti ordered by le Blon in Sweden were followed in Rome by the Palazzo Riario installations with their immersive displays featuring Clitia and the statuary group in the *sala delle muse*. The sun's ability to function as an emblem that validated Swedish absolutism as well as a personal device with broader classical appeal for her European audience becomes clearer in its re-appearance on several portrait medals of Christina, created over twenty years after the production of the coronation medal. Circa 1674, one year before being called to France to work on Louis XIV's medal project, François Chéron (1635–1698) produced a portrait medal of Christina which featured a regally dressed bust of the queen in profile on the obverse and an anthropomorphized sun on the reverse accompanied by the text "*nec falso nec alieno*."[415] The piece followed the model of the earlier coronation medal while adding a Latin phrase found on other medals and prints of Christina (Fig.48).[416]

Multiple versions of the sun medal were created over the next decade, including a pair of portrait medals produced as part of a large medal series that featured nearly identical imagery to the Chéron medal. The first, produced circa 1680, was designed by Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi

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[414] Such royal hyperbole continues throughout his description of her formal entry. Elsewhere she was said to scatter "like the Sun, the light of her favours, make(ing) all that behold her, pay tribute to her affability." Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty*, 316, 371.

[415] "neither false nor borrowed," or "neither deceptive or foreign."

[416] On Chéron medals see: Bildt*, Les Médailles Romaines de la Reine Christine de Suède,* 57-61.

(1656-1740) as part of a series of 118 portrait medals depicting the life of Christina. The set was commissioned by the queen from Soldani but was executed in part by Giovanni Battista Gugliemada (active 1665–1689) and Ottone Hamerani (1694–1768). Identical on the obverse, their imagery was varied on the reverse.[417] Similar features and text to Soldani's *nec falso* piece appear on a medal created by Swedish medalist Arvid Karlsteen (1648-1718) as part of his series of medals celebrating Swedish kings.[418] Additional variants include medals that feature the sun and *nec falso* phrase on the reverse with Christina as Minerva on the obverse and cast editions in a variety of metals.

The *nec falso* and sun motif was specific to Christina and appears often.[419] Two print projects published in 1675 in Rome by Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi were dedicated to Christina and feature the queen's image in association with the solar heraldic device. The first, a book of New Testament images after Raphael's painted series in the Vatican, was produced by Pietro Aquila and features a portrait of the queen with *nec falso, nec alieno* on a banderole beneath her. A medal-like reproduction of the smiling sun, very similar to the ones found on her medals appears below (Fig.49).[420] In the text at bottom, Christina is identified as "*Christinae Reginae*

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[417] Christina's interest in producing such a large suite of medals was a propagandistic and competitive artistic volley directed toward Louis XIV and his famous medal series which was proposed in 1662 by Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Bildt*, Les Médailles Romaines de la Reine Christine de Suède*, 58; Arne Flaten, *Medals and Plaquettes in the Ulrich Middledorf Collection at the Indiana University Art Museum* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 48-49.

[418] Visual similarities to the earlier coronation medal by Parise and particularly the Chéron medal indicate an intentional quotation of the earlier medal although no documentation related to selection of scenes on the Soldani series has been published.

[419] The association of Christina's sun imagery and specifically with Apollo is evident not only in her medals but in prints, ballets, sculpture, poems and performative celebrations throughout the queen's life. The solar images that appear on Christina's medals do show iconographical similarities to other common Swedish emblems such as the northern star or images on Swedish medals depicting the midnight sun but are distinct in their use of the *nec falso* text. On the set of medals made of Swedish royalty, see: Stig Stenström, "Arvid Karlsteen: hans liv och verk," (Doctoral Thesis, Göteborgs Universitet, 1944).

Suecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorum ... Solis tui radijs perpetuò affulgeas." Similarly, Rossi's reproduction of Frederick de Wit's Dutch map of the world *Nova totius terrarium orbis tabula*, features a portrait of the queen flanked by Minerva and Hercules, the smiling sun and a banner with "*nec falso nec alieno*" shining above her image (Figs.50, 51). The map appears relatively faithful to the Wit original but replaces an image of Maurits flanked by Hercules and Minerva with one of Christina flanked by the same figures, albeit reversed.[421]

The standardization of Christina's sun imagery is closely associated with the jubilee year of 1675, described as the Queen Christina Jubilee due to her extensive involvement in the celebrations.[422] The sun and "*nec falso*" combinations used as a heraldic device for the queen and its repeated reproduction between 1674 and 1680 roughly coincides with the elevation of Innocent XI Odescalchi to the papacy in 1676 and Bellori's tenure as Christina's antiquarian beginning in 1677. Unlike his predecessors, Innocent XI was not a prolific patron of learning or the arts. His relationship with the Swedish Queen was somewhat less amicable despite having moved in her circle when he was a cardinal. Until his death in 1689, the same year as Christina, it was largely the queen, not the pope, who was the leading proponent of academics, writers, actors, musicians and artists in Rome.[423] During this period, Christina's personal imagery seems

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[420] The text, "*Imagines Veteris Ac Novi Testamenti A Raphaele Sanctio Urbinate in Vaticani Palatii Xystis*," was printed by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi. The portrait is more reminiscent of her appearance on portrait medals such as the Chéron medal than any known painted portraits of the queen.

[421] The map was originally printed in the Netherlands in 1660 and dedicated to Prince Johann Maurits. Mariarosa Cesari, "New Evidence for the Date of Five Rare Dutch-Italian Wall Maps: F. de Wit's World Map and W. J. Blaeu's Four Continents." *Imago Mundi* 64:1 (2012): 46.

[422] Ibid.

[423] One of the most well-known and more accurately reported facets of the queen's social and political maneuvering during this period was her wiliness to defy papal preference and host female musicians and actors in her palace. Under Innocent XI the theater at the Torre di Nona was closed completely and women were no longer allowed to perform in public. This disregard for rigid conformity to gender roles has at times been oversignified by those

to reflect her status as patroness of Rome with the *nec falso* imagery promoting both her learning and her involvement in academic circles. The sun, which here equates to wisdom, indicates that Christina's learning is "*nec falso nec alieno*," or "neither false nor borrowed," highlighting her status as a philosopher and patron of knowledge. It is an idea that she promoted herself, and it was taken up by others in her circle.

In 1679, a discourse was held in one of Rome's many academies and was subsequently printed under the title, *Che nella regia impresa; in cui risplende, per corpo, il sole; e motto, il celebre nec falso, nec alieno; proposto in soggetto discorsiuo; si contengono le primarie virtù d'vn monarca eroe, e d'vna eroica accademia...*[424] The discourse focused on Christina's heroic patronage of scholars and the revival of ancient knowledge through those efforts.[425] The first poem, presented by Antonio Vitale, opens with a dedication that discusses the metallic composition of the sun and continues with an ode to Apollo, reinforcing both an alchemical reading of the solar imagery and a humanistic invocation of the sun in relation to Graeco-Roman mythology.[426] The successful adaptation of Christina's solar imagery from its Hyperborean and

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wishing to argue for it as indicative of deviant or a-typical sexuality, a practice which opens an interesting dialogue on motive but is ultimately unproductive as it often ascribes to Christina anachronistic terminology and world views.

[424] This text deserves further study and will be an excellent resource for future work on the topic of Christina's reception in humanist circles in Rome as well as the production and reception of her personal devices. Pompeo Camillo Montevecchio, *Che nella regia impresa; in cui risplende, per corpo, il sole; e motto, il celebre nec falso, nec alieno; proposto in soggetto discorsiuo; si contengono le primarie virtù d'vn monarca eroe, e d'vna eroica accademia Discorso detto dal conte Pompeo Camillo di Monte Vecchio, conuittore del Collegio Clementino, nella sala degli Accademici Strauaganti, alla loro gran protettrice la real maesta di Cristina Alessandra Regina di Svezia* (Rome: Appresso il Mascardi, 1679).

[425] Bo Bennich-Björkman's study of writers in the court of Queen Christina addresses similar interconnectivity between word and image as he likens the content and purpose of laudatory literature and panegyrics written at the court to medals produced to commemorate and advertise key events. Bo Bennich-Björkman, *Författaren i ämbetet: studier i funktion och organisation av författarämbeten vid svenska hovet och kansliet 1550-1850* (Stockholm: Läromedelsförl/Svenska bokförlaget, 1970), 290-310.

[426] It may be interesting to note that in this period, one of Sweden's primary industries was copper mining, an industry which grew under the queen's tenure as head of state.

Apollonian context within her Swedish Parnassus to her learned Roman Arcadia is powerfully evident in the subject and dedication of the discourse.

I believe that the *nec falso* motto and its associated imagery would have held dual meanings at the time of its dissemination. Its use revived the solar imagery which Christina had always used and, by quoting the coronation medal, it reinforced Christina's status as queen despite her failed attempts to assume other thrones. While the widely held translation of *nec alieno* as "nor borrowed" may be accurate, I believe that an alternate translation of *alieno* taken from *aliēnus,* meaning foreign, would have been both apt and advantageous for Christina.

Despite having lived in Rome for roughly two decades, Christina was still a foreign queen. A translation of *nec falso, nec alieno* as "nether deceptive nor foreign," when coupled with the image of the sun would have reinforced Christina's prior associations with Apollo through the accompanying sun imagery. The phrase would also have functioned as a nod to Christina's own personal connections to Apollo and to contemporary advancements in Sweden's Hyperborean research tradition spread by the increasing notoriety of Olof Rudbeck's theories on Swedish historicism. Such theories, produced in the same period that the *nec falso* phrase begins to appear with frequency, gained more international attention. The spread of ideas expressed in works such as Rubeck's *Atlantica* may have helped to diminish Christina's northern otherness by placing her simultaneously in the Gothic and classical antiquities.[427]

The "Goths" were typically not thought of as intellectuals by academic circles in central and southern Europe during the Early Modern period.[428] Christina's use of classical allegory, her move to Rome, her collections of antiquities and her decision to surround herself with scholars can be seen as a direct assault on these biases on the part of the queen. I believe that a deeper, more politicized connection than has previously been acknowledged existed between the queen's interest in history and antiquity, her use of Apollonian imagery and her many attempts to create a court Parnassus.[429] The Hyperborean theory of Swedish history gained increasing popularity across Europe in the later 1600s due to the work of Rudbeck. In addition to continuity with her earlier use of Hyperborean themes, Christina's use of Appolonian images in Rome was likely in reference to the wide-spread seventeenth-century interest in elevating a so-called mythical Golden Age.[430] Her association with themes relating to Apollo, Minerva, the Muses, Mt. Parnassus and Mt. Helicon can therefore be seen as active participation in this trend, and her interest in promoting such connections remained long after her abdication.

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[427] Goths was often used generally to mean all northern and/or Germanic peoples.

[428] Chipps Smith, "Vasari on the Barbarians of Northern Europe."

The presentation a ruler made of themselves to the public was a group effort on the part of a diverse array of advisors, artists and scholars. For rulers who inherited their thrones at a young age such as Louis XIV and Queen Christina, the job of orchestrating their public image and their education and often fell to a high ranking and influential member of the court. For

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[429] The idea of multiple possible readings based on audience and place of production for imagery associated with Christina and its ability to simultaneously serve both propagandistic and academic purposes, is supported in other recent studies, most notably in a recent publication of phoenix imagery used by Christina. Bernhard Schrig "*Phoenix going Bananas*: The Swedish Appropriation of a Classical Myth, and its demise in Botanical Scholarship," in *Apotheosis of the North: The Swedish Appropriation of Classical Antiquity around the Baltic Sea and Beyond (1650 to 1800*), eds. Bernd Roling, Bernhard Schirg and Stefan Heinrich Bauhaus (Berlin: Walter Gruyter, 2017), 17-46.

[430] Christina certainly knew of Rudbeck's work as she was one of his earliest patrons before her abdication. By 1674, three years before the publication of the first volumes of his *Atlantica* which argued for Sweden as the lost Atlantis, Rudbeck's theories of Hercules in *Öresund*, Odysseus sailing the Baltic, and architectural correlations between temples in Rome and lost ancient temples at Uppsala were being circulated in Europe. This is according to the accounts of the philosopher Lorenzo Magalotti who visited Uppsala from his native Italy in 1674. For details of his account and his thoughts on Rudbeck's work see: Lorenzo Magalotti, *Sverige under år 1674.* trans. E. Alund, 1912, reprinted 1986. For more recent analysis of Rudbeck's theories in *Atlantica* see: Bernd Roling, Bernhard Schirg and Stefan Heinrich Bauhaus eds. *Apotheosis of the North: The Swedish Appropriation of Classical Antiquity Around the Baltic Sea and Beyond (1650-1800)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 77-94.

Louis it was Cardinal Mazarin and for Christina it was her father's friend and advisor Axel Oxenstierna.[431] When she left Sweden, Christina not only gained independence from the burdens of ruling a country but she also gained a certain amount of liberty in selecting the individuals who would help her to shape the image she wished to project.[432] As evidenced by her patronage, Christina recognized the social and political value of the scholars with whom she surrounded herself. She did not rely solely on genealogies, artworks, and treaties to win over detractors and remained an active participant in matters of religion and politics throughout her life.

In Christina's own words, recorded in her book of maxims, the queen seems to reflect on a lifetime of balancing divergent and often competing aspects of her life that were dictated by the men around her. "We should make use of men of letters as if they were living libraries, and as such we may esteem them and take council of them, never forgetting, however, that they are but poor advisers in affairs of the great world."[433] In taking her lasting association with solar imagery as an example, we can see how the men of learning who moved in the circle around Christina took cues from her writing, her antiquities collections, her intellect, and the pre-abdication propaganda created for her. They formed a body of artistic and academic work which reflected the demands placed on Christina by the changing political and social conditions she encountered throughout her life. In so doing, they demonstrated the effectiveness of the queen's personal campaign to address and challenge Early Modern opinions of Gothicism and the place of Sweden within the classical tradition.

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[431] Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, 45.

[432] One of the most frequent criticisms of the queen is her dubious judgement when it came to the selection of these individuals. The Santinelli brothers are the most commonly vilified of her choices for her Roman court, in part due to their part in the Monaldeschi incident and in part due to longstanding accusations of theft both from the Farnese residence and from the queen herself that have already been mentioned.

[433] Una Birch ed., *Christina of Sweden, Maxims of a Queen* (London, New York: J Lane, 1907), 26.

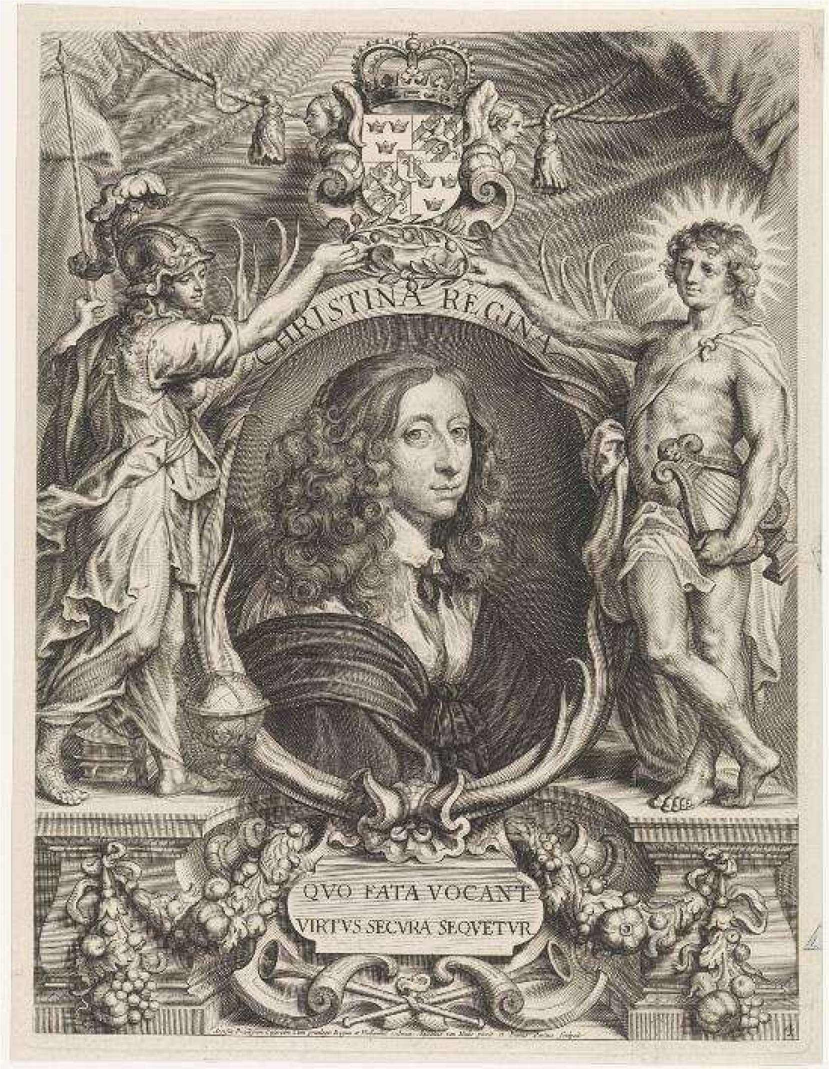

Figure 45: *Portrait of Christina* from *Les Hommes Illustres*.
Anselm van Hulle. ca. 1648, engraving. Peach Palace Law Library, The Hague
(Photo: Wikimedia commons)

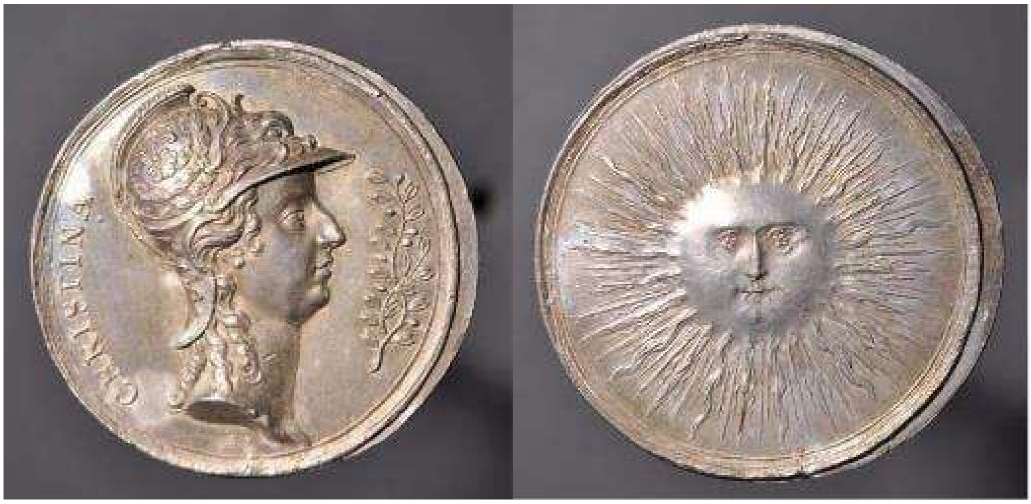

Figure 46: *Coronation Sun Medal.*
Attributed to Erich Parise and Johan Rethe, Uppsala universitets myntkabinett, Uppsala (Photo: Uppsala universitets myntkabinett)

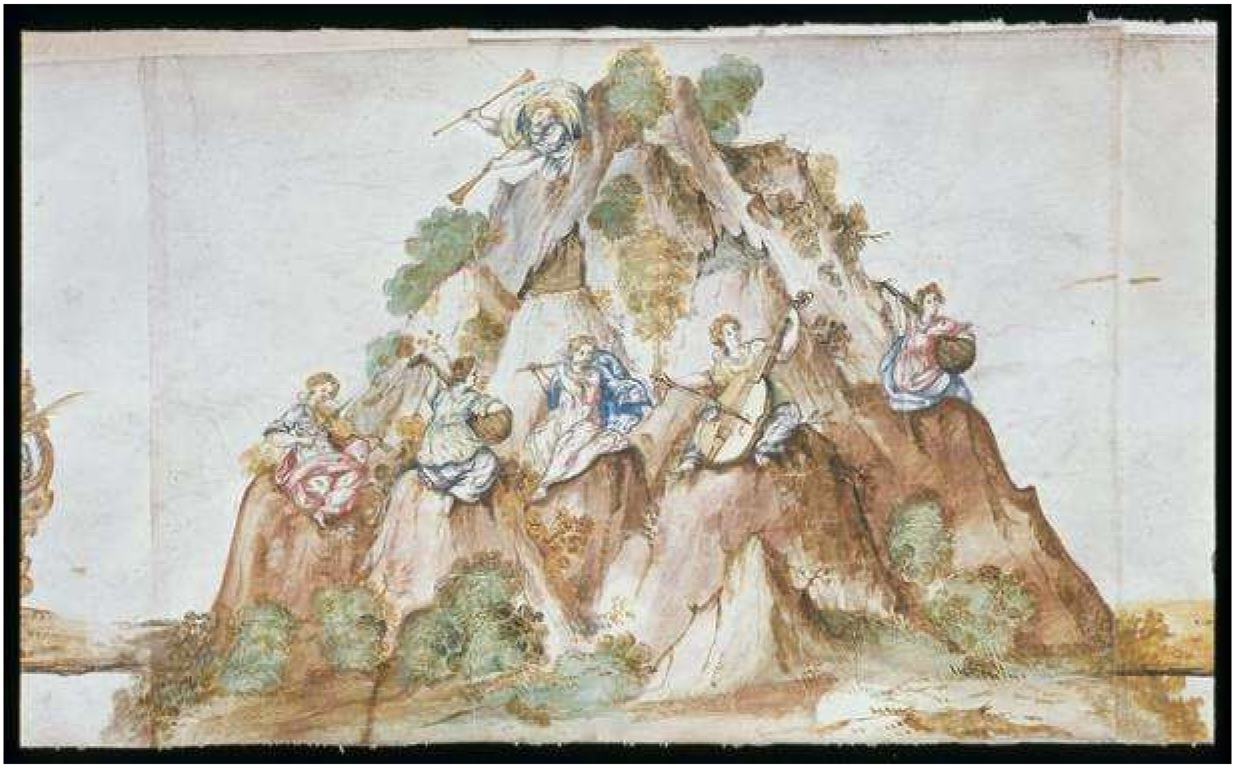

Figure 47: *Drottning Kristinas festtåg (Queen Christina's Party Train)*
Mechanical float in the shape of Mt. Parnassus with the nine muses and Fame.
Part of a 4 meter-long panorama of the Parade. Attributed to Nicolas Vallari.
1650, gouache on parchment. Kansallismuseo (National Museum of Finland), Helsinki. (Photo: Kansallismuseo)

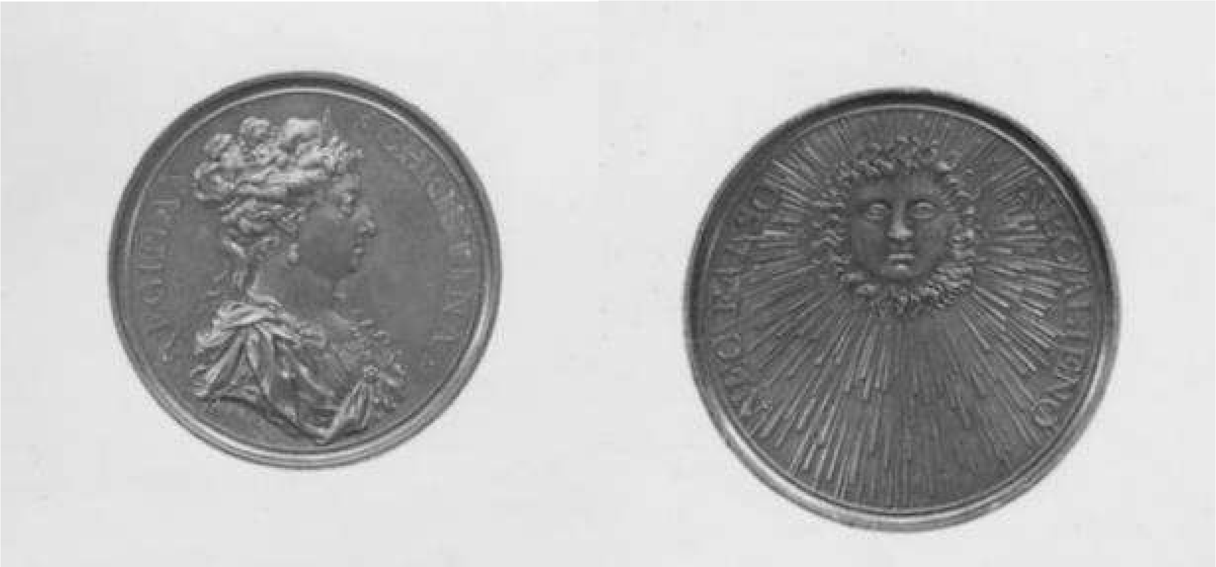

Figure 48: *"Nec falso, nec alieno" sun medal.*
François Chéron. c.1674. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Photo: Author. Nationalmuseum Exhibition Archives)

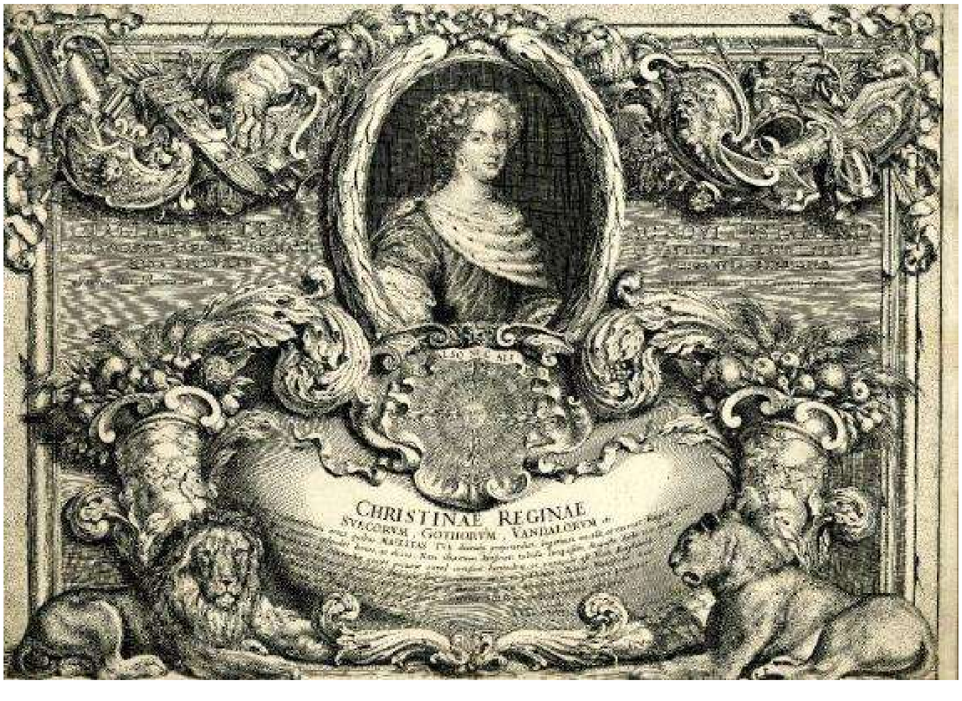
CHRISTINAE REGINAE
SVECORVM, GOTHORVM, VANDALORVM

Figure 49: Pietro Aquila, *Christina Regina Svecorum, Gothorum, Vandalorum* from *Imagines veteris ac Novi Testamenti* (the Raphael Bible). Published by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, Rome. 1675. The British Museum (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

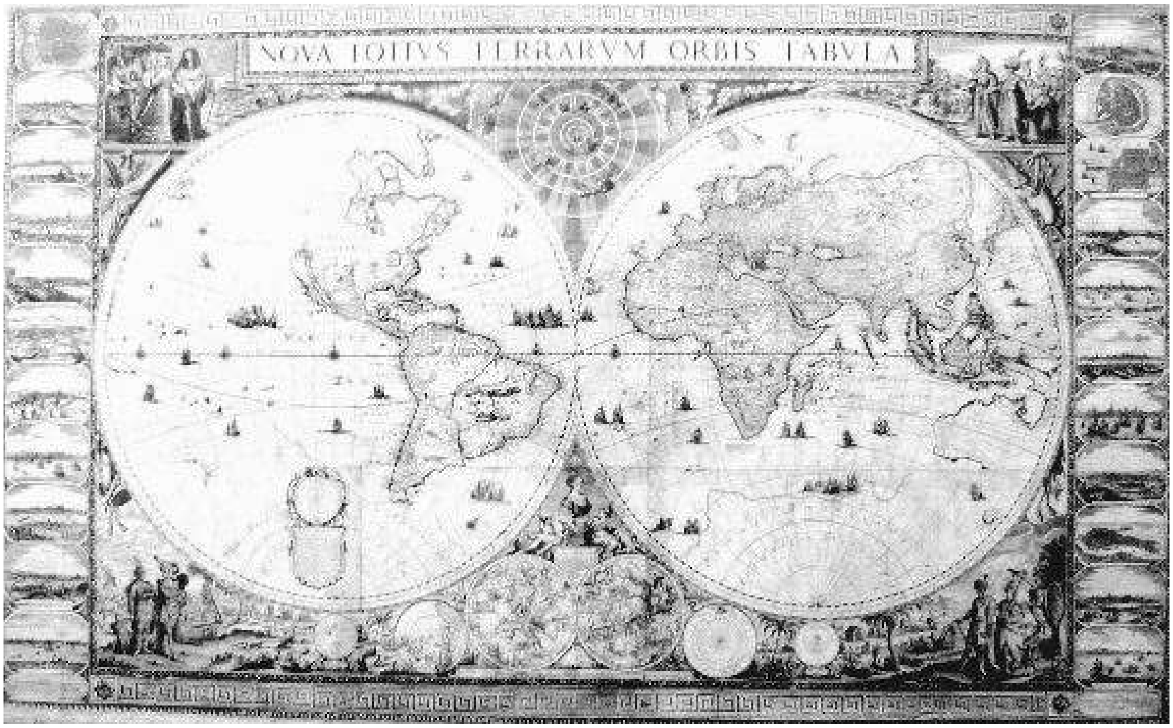
NOVA TOTIVS TERRARVM ORBIS TABVLA

Figure 50: *Nova totivs terrarvm orbis tabvla.*
Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's Rome version of F. de Wit's original print. 1675.
Seminario Metropolitano, Modena. (Photo: Mariarosa Cesari "New Evidence for the Date in Five Rare Dutch-Italian Wall Maps" in Imago Mundi 64:1 (2012): 47)

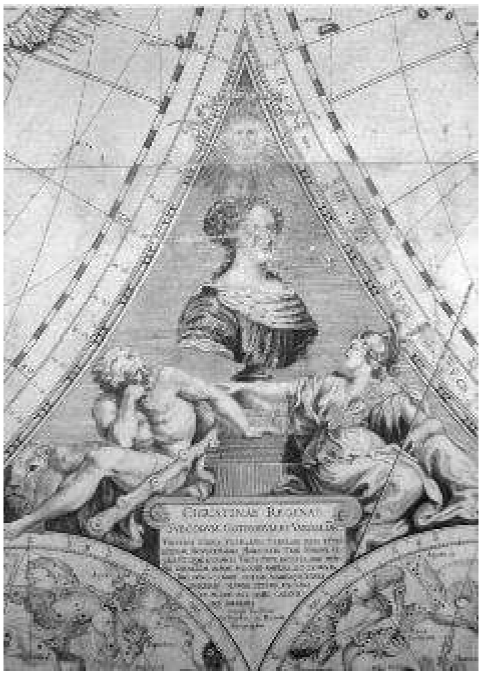
CHRISTINAE REGINAE

Figure 51: *Detail of lower center of Fig. 49, Nova totivs terrarvm orbis tabvla*.

Chapter Six

Christina's Classical Persona Developed through Allegory

"Alexandre avec tous ses défauts a été le plus grand des hommes."[434]

Christina as Alexander and Constantine

Inside the Porta Sancta, past the crowds shuffling to view Michelangelo's Pieta, a monumental portrait medallion of Queen Christina is mounted high on the first pier in the right isle of St. Peter's Basilica. The gilt bronze medallion measures over six feet in diameter and features Christina in the profile view popularized by Roman imperial coinage. Her distinctive features, mounded curls, and togate dress are reminiscent of the queen's likeness on portrait medals commissioned in the final decade of her life.[435] Latin text encircling the image identifies her as "Christina Alexandra, by the Grace of God Queen of Sweden, the Goths and the Vandals," a phrase that appeared on coinage minted in Sweden during her rule.[436] The medallion is the focal point of a cenotaph honoring the queen and is held aloft by a banner and a crowned angel of death, also in gilt bronze (Fig.52). The banner lauds the queen's conversion and abdication, indicating political motives behind the installation of a monument to the foreign, secular, ruler within the basilica.

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[434] Christina, Queen of Sweden. *Pensées de Christine, Reine de Suède: Avec une notice sur sa vie* **(**Paris: Renaurd, 1825**)**, 127.

[435] While the portraits vary to some degree, many of the medals produced by Massimiliano Soldani Benzi and Giovanni Battista Guglielmada appear to be based on a Single portrait.

[436] The text reads, "CHRISTINA ALEXANDRA D.G.SVEC.GOTHOR.VANDALORVM Q.REGINA." The phrase D.G.REGINA or Dei Gratia Regina used here indicates an interest in highlighting the medallion as a representation of royal coinage in the classical Roman tradition while underscoring the sacrifices made by the queen for the Papacy during her abdication.

Below the medallion are a series of three bas-reliefs by Jean-Baptiste Théodon (1645—1713). The reliefs depict the abjuration of Christina at Innsbruck, the disdain of the Swedish nobility and the triumph of faith over heresy, highlighting those aspects of Christina's legacy which were considered most notable in the eyes of the church. The scenes are depicted in high relief. The white marble figures press out of the confines of their panels, lending an air of Baroque theatricality to the sides of the large, pseudo-sarcophagus. On the lid, two white marble putti hold a scepter and sword, flanking an over-life-size gilt bronze crown.

Fontana's cenotaph for Christina is one of three monuments in the basilica which immortalize the primacy of the church in the lives of secular women, each woman having displayed fealty to the pope over their obligations to family or state.[437] Although Christina retained the title of queen, when she abdicated much of the autonomy which the crown had afforded her in Sweden was lost. Although Rome lacked a competing secular monarch, the queen still found herself at the mercy of church politics, papal authority, the Swedish government, and Baroque social protocols. The competing push and pull of Christina's desires and her inability to be truly independent without a country was highlighted for a final time in her death. Although she requested a simple burial in the Pantheon, her wishes were over ruled by the reigning Pope

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[437] The other two belong to Maria Clementina Sobieska (1702-1735) and Countess Matilda di Canossa (1046-1115). Maria Clementina Sobieska left her native Poland to marry James Francis Edward Stuart by proxy. She was declared rightful Catholic Queen of England by the Pope and lived at his invitation in Rome for the remainder of her life. Her monument was commissioned from Pietro Bracci (1700-1773) by Pope Benedict XIV and features a delicate painted oval portrait of the noblewoman held aloft by a putto and the figure of charity. Matilda di Canossa aided Pope Gregory VII and the Guelph cause against Emperor Henry IV, donating large sums to the papal treasury. Her monument in the Bassilica was commissioned by Pope Urban VIII in 1633 from Bernini. Paul Hofmann, *The Vatican's Women: Female Influence at the Holy See* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008), 23, 66.

Innocent XI (1611-89). The queen's body was instead put on view at Santa Maria in Vallicella before being offered up for the benefit of the church and buried in St. Peter's in a final act of religious propaganda.[438]

The cenotaph was ordered in the first decade of the eighteenth-century by Pope Innocent XII and was completed under Clement XI (1649-1721) by the architect Carlo Fontana (1634 or 1638–1714). In addition to highlighting the importance of the queen's conversion to Catholicism, Fontana's design memorialized her in distinctly classical terms. Both the pseudo-sarcophagus and the portrait medallion draw upon ancient precedents to represent Christina. Christina had a lifelong interest in crafting her image through the lens of antiquity and allegory, developing a politically advantageous public persona whose classical appeal was borderless. Fontana's cenotaph validates the success of that campaign by confirming, nearly two decades after her death, that Christina's life should be commemorated through classical imagery on a monumental scale.

Christina's formation of her royal image through classicism and visual references to rulers of antiquity such as Alexander the Great and Constantine, began long before her move to Rome and is a staple in her royal imagery from her coronation to her death. In the summer of 1653, just months prior to her abdication, Christina of Sweden posed for a large-scale equestrian portrait (Fig.53). Antonio Pimentel, a Spanish officer and the recently appointed ambassador to Stockholm, acted as intermediary between Christina and Phillip IV of Spain, the intended recipient of the painting. The work was commissioned from French artist Sébastien Bourdon, who had arrived in Sweden the previous year and was selected to be the queen's official court painter. Christina's mastery of horsemanship was widely commented upon by her contemporaries and, along with her princely education, was a point of pride for the queen. Bourdon's equestrian portrait highlights both of these prized personal traits, displaying her ability to rule and her education in classical history along with her skill on a horse. As I will illustrate, it is also a complex, pivotal, image when considered along with the queen's purchase and display of antiquities as well as the extensive body of the classicizing ephemera and allegorical portraiture used to shape Christina's royal image.

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[438] For more on Fontana's cenotaph and Christina's funeral in Rome see: Marie Louise Rodén, "The Burial of Queen Christina of Sweden in St. Peter's Church," *Scandinavian Journal of History,* vol.12 (1987): 63-70; Allan Braham, "The Tomb of Christina," in *Queen Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies,* ed. Magnus von Platen (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1966), 48-58.

The composition of Bourdon's portrait is striking and shows Christina mounted on a dark horse. Three dogs and a well-dressed young falconer at her back signify that the portrait depicts a royal hunt. While the painting's focal point is the queen's pale face, framed by her distinct, curly, light brown hair, the true center of the canvas is located in the midpoint of her pelvis; her body and gaze turned toward the viewer as she rides side-saddle. The queen's slightly spread thighs grip the front left shoulder of the horse as it rears up on its hind legs, lending Christina a natural and convincing air of equestrian mastery. Her skirts are voluminous and decorous in a monotone taupe with a small row of buttons on the matching jacket. White linen with black bows at her neck and wrist stand in stark contrast to the drab color of her hunting dress and were a prominent feature of the queen's official portraiture from the mid-1640s until the 1660s. Overall, her attire lacks excessive tailoring or feminine detail. Her wealth and taste are instead indicated by the far more colorful and elaborate ensemble worn by her young falconer.[439]

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[439] Arne Danielsson has argued for a reading of the falconer as a portrait of Christina's art acquisition agent Palbitzki. The Livrustkammaren (Swedish Royal Armory) holds the world's largest collection of seventeenth-century men's clothing, thereby providing a unique and undisputable knowledge of the pattern and color worn by members of the royal court in the period. While the identity of the falconer may still be up for some debate,

In both size and content, Christina's portrait is comparable to Velazquez's set of equestrian portraits of the Spanish royal family produced roughly a decade prior to Bourdon's painting. As a gift to the Spanish king, it is clear that Christina's portrait was meant to ingratiate the Protestant queen to his Catholic majesty, perhaps implying through visual devices a commonality between the two which would be manifest publicly the following year but which, until that point, was a matter of secret communication and negotiation between them. The painting seems to have been well-received upon its arrival in Spain, being hung in the dining room of the royal palace alongside portraits of the Spanish royal family similarly mounted on horseback.[440]

Reiner Schoch and Arne Danielsson have suggested multiple allegorical interpretations of the portrait.[441] In his discussion of the work's antique themes and hidden emblems, Danielsson has identified the model for Christina's mount as the famous Quirinal Horse Tamer statues in Rome (Fig.54). His assertions are backed empirically by visual similarities in the appearance of Christina's horse to Bourdon's roughly contemporary depiction of a sculpted Bucephalus atop Alexander's tomb in *L'Empereur Auguste devant le tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand*. He asserts that Bourdon deliberately quoted the horse tamers in his portrait of Christina, citing the muscularity of the horse's chest and haunch in both the Christina portrait and the famous horses

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Danielsson's observation that Christina's falconer wears the colors of the Vasa family and not the Swedish royal livery of the period is an accurate indication of the queen's desire to visually indicate a separation of herself from her position as ruler of Sweden while still promoting her dynastic identity and royal status. Arne Danielsson, "Sébastien Bourdon's equestrian portrait of queen Christina of Sweden—Addressed to 'his Catholic Majesty' Philip IV," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History*, 58:3 (2008): 95-108.

[440] For more on how Christina's portrait compared to the equestrian paintings by Velazquez and the artist's role in hanging Bourdon's portrait in the Alcázar see: María Cristina Quintero, *Gendering the Crown in the Spanish Baroque Comedia* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 176.

[441] Rainer Schoch, "Sébastien Bourdons Reiterbildnis der Königin Christina von Schweden," *Ruperto-Carola,* 41 (1967): 114-120; Danielsson, "Sébastien Bourdon's equestrian portrait of queen Christina of Sweden," 95-108.

on the Monte Cavallo. Additionally, Danielsson cites a handful of examples representing an extensive body of material which illustrates Christina's desire to be compared to Alexander.

The Horse Tamers were known to scholars since at least the twelfth-century and were described in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, an early guidebook to Rome.[442] After Onofrio Panvinio's widely read publication on the group in 1558, it was commonly believed that the sculptures were once part of Constantine's baths located on the Quirinal Hill. They were thought to have been taken from Alexandria by the Emperor Constantine before being sent to Rome and erected in the bath complex. Popular Early Modern scholarly consensus on the group as depicting the Greek hero Alexander taming his horse Bucephalus supported the hypothesis of an Alexandrian provenance.[443]

Prior to his appearance at the Swedish court, Bourdon spent the years 1634-37 in Rome. The artist's stay among the remnants of antiquity and under the influence of Poussin seem to have had a strong effect on his classicism which would become increasingly rigorous for the rest of his career.[444] Leaving France due to the Fronde, Bourdon was quickly accepted at Christina's court in Stockholm where he completed several official portraits of the queen. The equestrian portrait was commissioned at the same time that the queen seems to have begun seriously considering conversion, holding long meetings in her study with Pimentel asking him to convey to the King of Spain her interest in the Jesuits and her desire to learn more about the Catholic faith.[445]

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[442] Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique,* 136.

[443] Ibid., 97; Danielsson, "Sébastien Bourdon's equestrian portrait of queen Christina of Sweden," 95-108.

[444] Poussin himself frequently referenced the Horse Tamer statue group in his depictions of classical heroes and mythological steeds. Although Bourdon may not have seen all of these, Poussin's *Conquest of Jerusalem by Emperor Titus* (1638), *Destruction and Sack of the Temple of Jerusalem* (1625-26), *Triumph of Bacchus* (1635-36), *Abduction of the Sabine Women* (1633-34) and *Hunt of Meleager and Atalanta* (1634-35) are just a few examples of the artist's familiarity with the group. These examples illustrate a general interest in the statue group as a model employed widely by French classicists without any specific intention of referencing the subject matter of the stature group. Bourdon himself seems to have used the figures on at least two other occasions, in the previously mentioned in *L'Empereur Auguste devant le tombeau d'Alexandre le Grand* (c. 1645)*,* and in his print of *The Flight into Egypt* (ca. 1640-50). While reliance on an antique model does not inherently indicate a desire on the part of the artist or patron to imply a direct correlation between themselves and the classical subject matter, learned viewers such as the King of Spain, would have certainly noted the visual reference.

The quotation of the Horse Tamers, which were restored in the late sixteenth century under Sixtus V and located just outside of the papal palace in Rome, may have held an additional message for Phillip IV regarding the queen's secret plans to convert.[446] Whether or not this is the case, the portrait was certainly intended to ingratiate the queen to the Spanish King, an agenda made all the more important given the dependence on Catholic sympathies she would need to secure after her eventual conversion and departure from Sweden. Scholars have suggested multiple allegorical interpretations of the Bourdon equestrian portrait including readings of Christina as Diana the Huntress, an Amazon queen, and Alexander the Great.[447] This fascinating scholarly game of attribution occurs across many of the images, publications, and productions created in the queen's circle and is a direct result of Christina's general affinity for Roman antiquity. As part of his reading of Bourdon's equestrian portrait as an Alexandrian reference,

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[445] These meetings, like many of her relationships, caused a stir at the court and lead to lifelong speculations about her relationship to the Spaniard. The relationship was most famously sensationalized in Greta Garbo's film *Queen Christina* and, although there is no evidence of an intimate relationship, the mutual admiration and political advantage the pair saw in one another was evident in his decision to meet her in Brussels a year after her abdication and accompany her to Innsbruck and finally to Rome. Masson, *Queen Christina,* 179-82.

[446] Danielsson and others have read the image as a subtle confirmation of Christina's intentions to leave Sweden and convert to Catholicism but have not made any connection between the symbolism of the physical location of the statues and the Swedish queen's intentions. Danielsson, "Sébastien Bourdon's equestrian portrait of queen Christina of Sweden," 95-108.

[447] While Dannielsson's reading of Christina as Alexander is very plausible, it is less likely that the queen intended to be depicted as Diana. Although such a reading does coalesce with the queen's taste for classicism and the subject of the hunt, Diana would be an a-typical choice for a female king attempting to convey her power to a foreign ruler and much more suitable for noble women such as Diane de Poitiers.

Danielsson argues that the artist deliberately moved away from traditional royal equestrian imagery and its Constantinian subtext.[448] While I agree with Danielsson's reading of the image, rather than replacing Constantinian association with that of Alexander, I believe that the portrait embodies both, embracing the tradition of imperial power present in Constantinian equestrian imagery while laying claim to a more personal Alexandrian iconography.

The Constantinian imagery I refer to here is based on the famous ancient bronze on the Capitoline in Rome which only survived to the present due to a longstanding misattribution of the statue as an image of Constantine. The Capitoline sculpture was widely copied however; as evidenced by the pose of Bernini's Constantinian mount produced two decades after Bourdon's portrait, a single raised hoof must not be taken as the only signal of imperial greatness in seventeenth-century equestrian portraiture. There can be no doubt that at the time of her conversion and move to Rome Christina's desire to be compared to Alexander the Great was known to those around her. The morning after her private arrival in Rome, Christina went to the gardens where Bernini met with her and showed her the carriage and chair that he designed for her upcoming grand entry. She was additionally presented with a horse which she rode through the Vatican gardens. Galeazzo writes in his account of this occasion:

> "There was none in Swedland could manage a Steed better than her, nor sit him better in his full Carrieer, of which the King of Spain being curious, desired to see her painted in that action. And indeed, she is so franck, and dexterous in this, that if she had another Bucephalus, she would tame him as well as an Alexander. Her

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[448] Many royal and imperial equestrian images were understood to embody the classical authority of Constantine due in part to their modeling after the famous bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome which was, at the time, believed to be an image of the emperor Constantine on horseback. This imagery would have been acceptable to her contemporaries in Sweden but might additionally have held secret meaning for Christina as she was involved in negotiations with Spanish Jesuits seeking support from the Spanish crown ahead of her abdication. Danielsson has suggested the angle of the sun and Christina's mount indicate that she is headed south, a veiled reference to her plans to abdicate. The quotation of contemporary Spanish Equestrian portraits by Velazquez and their Constantinian imagery could additionally have been a nod on the part of the queen to Constantine as an ancient counterpart who also led an empire and set off to a foreign land to establish a royal domain elsewhere. Ibid., 100.

> Majesty went afterwards with my Lord Holstenius to see the Vatican Library, and likewise his owne, which was fine and rare, and gave her great content."[449]

At the time of her public conversion, Christina ceased regular use of her family name and took the Catholic name Alexandra, in part to ingratiate herself to the recently installed Pope Alexander VII Chigi, and in part to frame herself as a new Alexander the Great. In her minority, Christina famously wrote and presented a history of Alexander at court.[450] Her father likewise had modeled himself after Alexander and, even before her official coronation, Oxenstierna and the privy council molded Christina's image after her father, framing her as a leader who would embody the leadership and military strength of Gustav Adolph simply by virtue of being his daughter. Images such as the Bourdon equestrian portrait attest to the fact that these early attempts on the part of others to shape the image of the queen met with some success, eventually becoming a part of the way Christina independently chose to present herself. I focus on this exploration of the visual rhetoric and appropriation of the power of antiquity as applied to Christina's royal authority because it nicely illustrates the formation of a type of classical image use to promote the queen which can be traced throughout her life.

The necessity of appropriating the authority of classical antiquity not only served political purposes for the queen in relation to her Gothic identity, it also served to legitimize her status as a young, sole female ruler. The extent of this somewhat anachronistic use of ancient imperial motifs outside the bounds of the Roman Empire is possibly best visualized in the colossal ephemeral copy of the Arch of Constantine built for Christina's coronation procession (Fig.55).

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[449] Burberry, *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty Christina,* 360

[450] Christina, Queen of Sweden, *The works of Christina Queen of Sweden: containing maxims and sentences in twelve centuries, and reflections on the life and actions of Alexander the Great* (London: D. Wilson & T. Durham, 1753), 133-184.

The coronation arch followed a common standard set for many Early Modern triumphal arches which was somewhat formulaic. Like the arch of Constantine, this type was based on the arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum.[451] Decorative features of Christina's arch such as the appearance of roundels above the lateral arches, the central inscription on the attic flanked by reliefs, and the incorporation of free-standing figural sculptures atop the detached columns specifically indicate its visual quotation of the Constantinian model.

Christina's arch, one of three erected for her lavish coronation, featured sculpted figures and painted fictive reliefs which replaced the subjects depicted on the arch of Constantine with scenes of Swedish military conquests in Germany.[452] While built out of wood, paper mache, plaster, and paint, the Constantinian arch was still standing as late as 1660 and plans to make a permanent version were in the works for quite some time before its eventual deconstruction.[453] The sturdy construction of the ephemeral work is apparent in its appearance in prints from Dahlberg and it can be noted on the right hand side of an engraved print of the palace of the Tre Kronor, indicating that it was still standing some 25 years after its erection (see Fig. 9).

Over two centuries after the Donation of Constantine- the document that supposedly transferred secular authority over parts of Italy to the Pope, was proven by Lorenzo Valla to be a forgery, the Catholic Church continued to use heavily Constantine's name and likeness in their counterreformation propaganda. This is seen in well-known papal commissions such as Raphael's frescoes for the Sala di Constantino, to name but one example. With Sweden just coming out of the Thirty-Year's War, why was the choice made to replicate the arch of Constantine in the center of Stockholm for the coronation precession? Why not create a Baroque fantasy of an arch or copy one of the many other extant ancient examples as was done for other ephemeral arches in Sweden including the two other arches planned for Christina's coronation? With the amount of symbolic allegory that appeared in the coronation processions and on the arch itself. I do not believe that it is possible that Christina's coronation arch, so clearly following the design of a specific monument, copied the arch of Constantine simply due to a lack of originality or the convenience of a ready model. Like the Horse Tamer statues influencing sub textual Alexandrian references in Bourdon's equestrian portrait of Christina, the quoted antique source of the triumphal arch would have been read as part of the subtext of the ephemeral monument.

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[451] There were three portals, with shoerter lateral arches and coffered vaults. Detatched columns across the face, a series of relifs with winged victories in the spandrils, and an attic inscribed to commemorate a victory are all elements seen in the Arch of Septmius Severeus, the Arch of Constantine, and Christina's Coronation Arch.

[452] Sten Karling, "L'Arc de Tripmphe de la Reine Christine à Stockholm," in *Queen Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 159-86.

[453] The series of prints created by Dahlberg, also contained images of triumphal arches built for the coronation of Charles XI and the triumphal entry into Stockholm of future Queen Ulrika Eleonora. These arches, while classicizing, were fantastical creations, surmounted by pyramidal obelisks, with Charles' XI's being erected in the same location as Christina's Constantinian arch but lacking a true portal, instead being a sculptural suggestion of an arch-like form. Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 105-107.

Christina's personal taste for the style of Roman classicism, practiced by artists such as Sebastian Bourdon, cannot alone explain the symbolic choice of the Constantinian monument for her coronation. The answer, I believe, lies in the power imbued in the cultural memory of Constantine which could be transferred to those who invoked it for themselves. Pamphlets were circulated throughout Europe with the figure of Constantine used to justify religious and secular supremacy on both sides of the Reformation debates. Even in sixteenth-century England, pamphlets proclaiming a Constantinian heritage via the third-century emperor's maternal line were used to justify Henry VIII's imperial and religious rhetoric.[454] In addition to the need to legitimize herself as king, Christina was at the helm of a vast and hard-won empire.

The coronation arch highlighted her inheritance of a venerable tradition, appropriating ancient Roman history for a rapidly internationalizing Sweden. Just as the Roman original utilized spolia to mark Constantine's victory, the appropriation of the arch's design for propaganda on the part of the Swedish crown made the copy serve as a sort of cultural and intellectual spolia. The specific use of the Arch of Constantine as a model firmly established Christina as the head of an empire, capable not only of war and conquest but also of bringing art, learning, and respect to the entirety of the lands left to her by her father. The Constantinian arch highlighted her inheritance of a venerable tradition and usurped imagery used by the German Emperor to bolster her own legitimacy.[455] The coronation was a socially and politically important occasion which was used to introduce Christina as monarch to the rest of Europe and in Sweden, to legitimize Vasa family power.[456] Gustav Adolph emphasized his right to rule by dressing as King Berig at his coronation in 1617.[457] Christina eschewed that particular aspect of theatricality at her coronation, but in the celebrations that followed, she was dressed in Roman armor to dance in one of the many ballets held in her honor.[458]

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[454] Stewart Mottram, "Reading the Rhetoric of Nationhood in Two Reformation Pamphlets by Richard Morison and Nicholas Bodrugan." *Renaissance Studies* 19, no. 4 (2005): 529-30.

[455] Like many Renaissance military leaders before her, Christina's medals were made with her likeness in the custom of Roman imperial coins.

[456] This was still a very real concern in the mid-1600s as Gustav Adolf's transition from nobleman to first king of a unified, independent Sweden in the sixteenth-century was still relatively recent and the acceptance of a young, female, king to continue the family's rule was not a certainty.

[457] Neville, "Gothicism and Early Modern Historical Ethnography," 218.

[458] Marina Grut, *Royal Swedish Ballet: history from 1592 to 1962* (Stockholm: Georg Olms Verlag, 2007), 21.

In the Early Modern period, Constantine was known primarily for his religious conversion and for the subjugation of his sovereignty to the power of the Papacy through the Donation. The desire to see the use of Constantinian imagery for Christina's coronation procession as a prefiguration of her own impending conversion and deference to Papal authority is persistent but the parallels are likely coincidental. I believe that it is exactly these overtones of subjugation to papal authority as well as the lack of an empire over which to frame herself as ruler that prevented the Queen from continuing the uses of Constantinian allegory once in Rome. This was not the case with her personal interest in the history of Alexander the Great whose biography Christina showed an interest in from an early age and whose image she continued to use throughout her life. It may have been Alexander's youthful assumption of power, his tutelage under great philosophers of antiquity such as Aristotle or his imperial power that drew Christina to him as a figure to emulate.

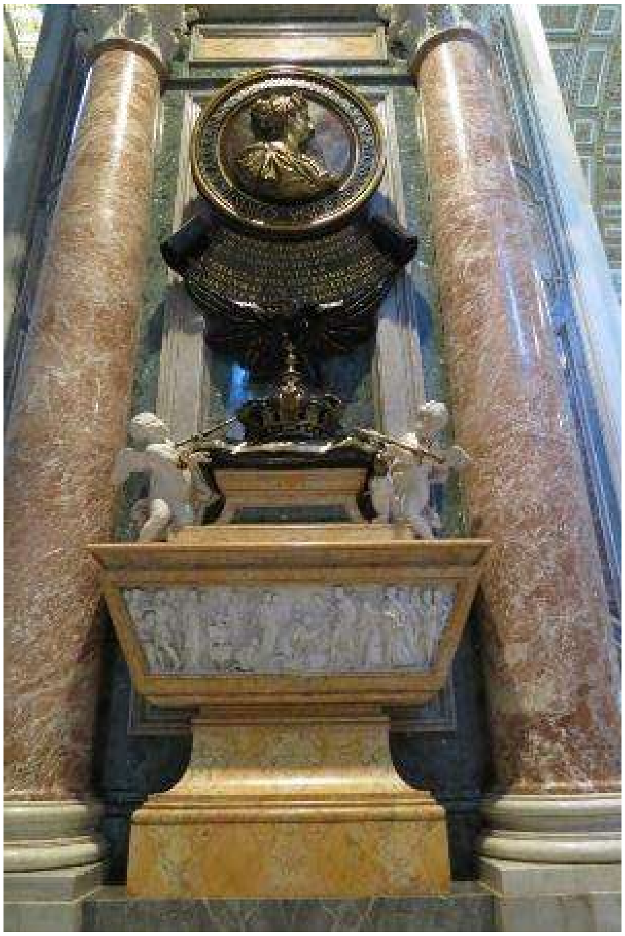

Figure 52: *Queen Christina's Cenotaph in St. Peter's.*
Carlo Fontana. First two decades of the 18th century. St. Peter's, Rome. (Photo: Author)

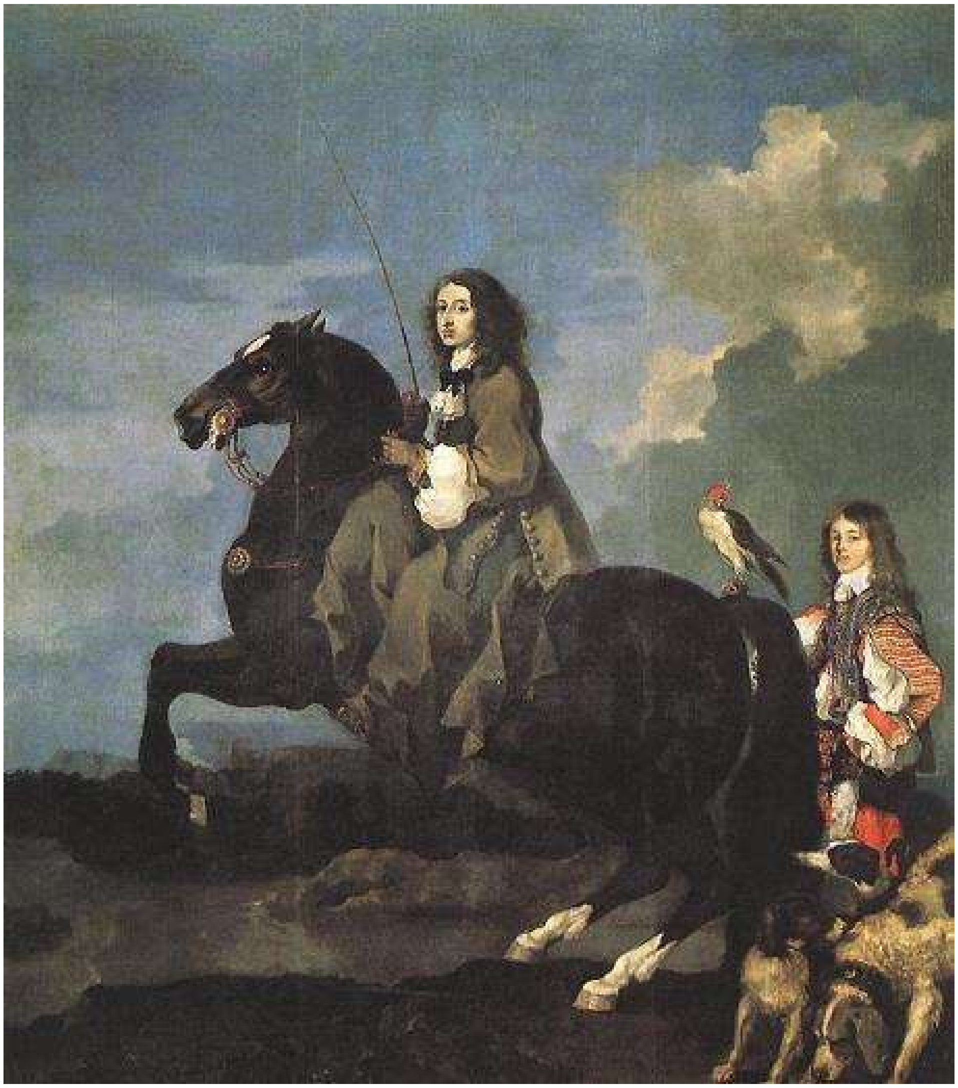

Figure 53: *Equestrian Portrait of Christina.*
Sébastien Bourdon. 1653-54, oil on canvas. Museo del Prado, Madrid, P001503
(Copyright ©Museo Nacional del Prado)

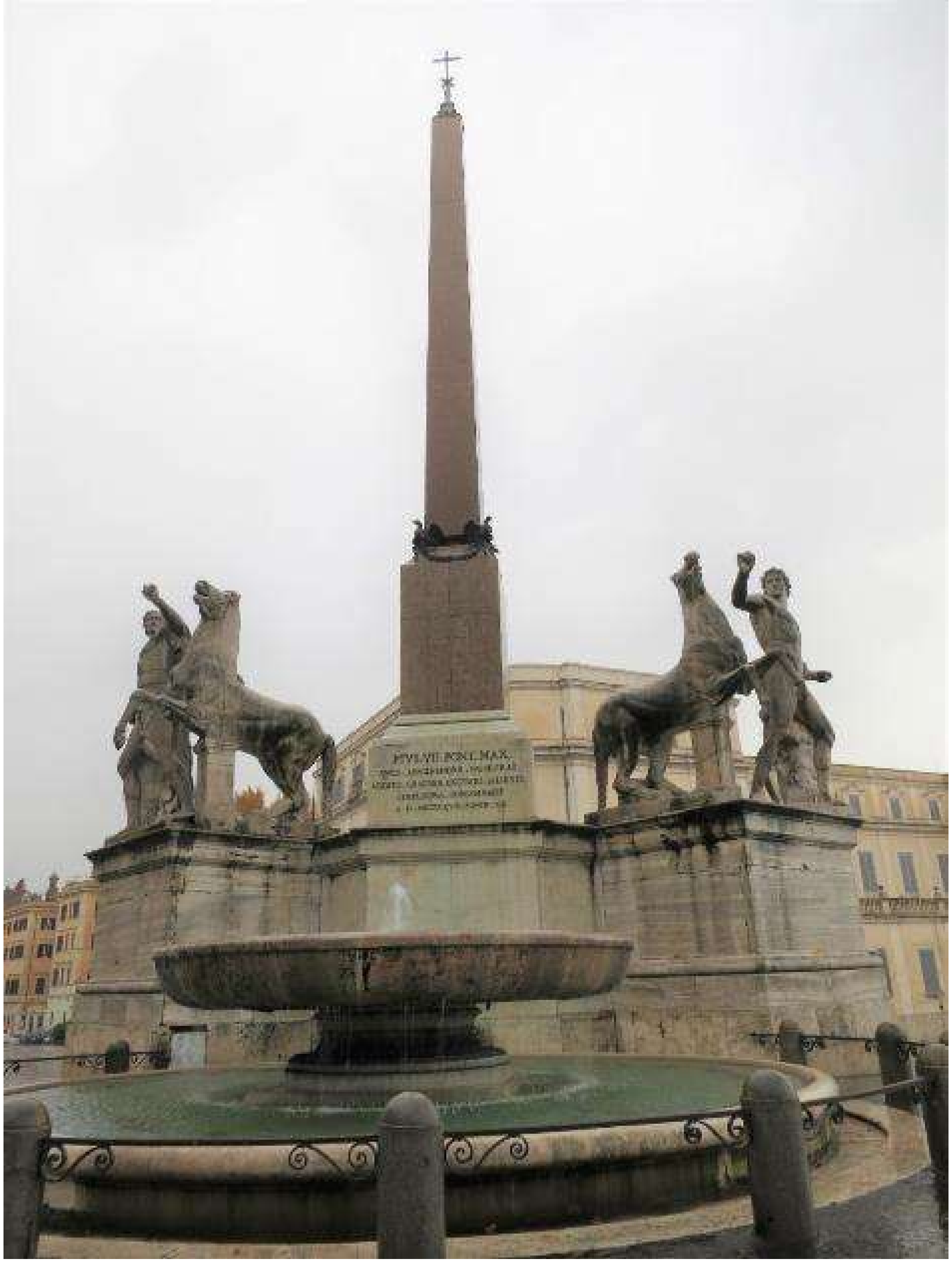
PIVS.VII.PONT.MAX.

Figure 54: *Horse Tamers.*
Antique Roman Marble. Piazza del Qirinale, Rome (Photo: Author)

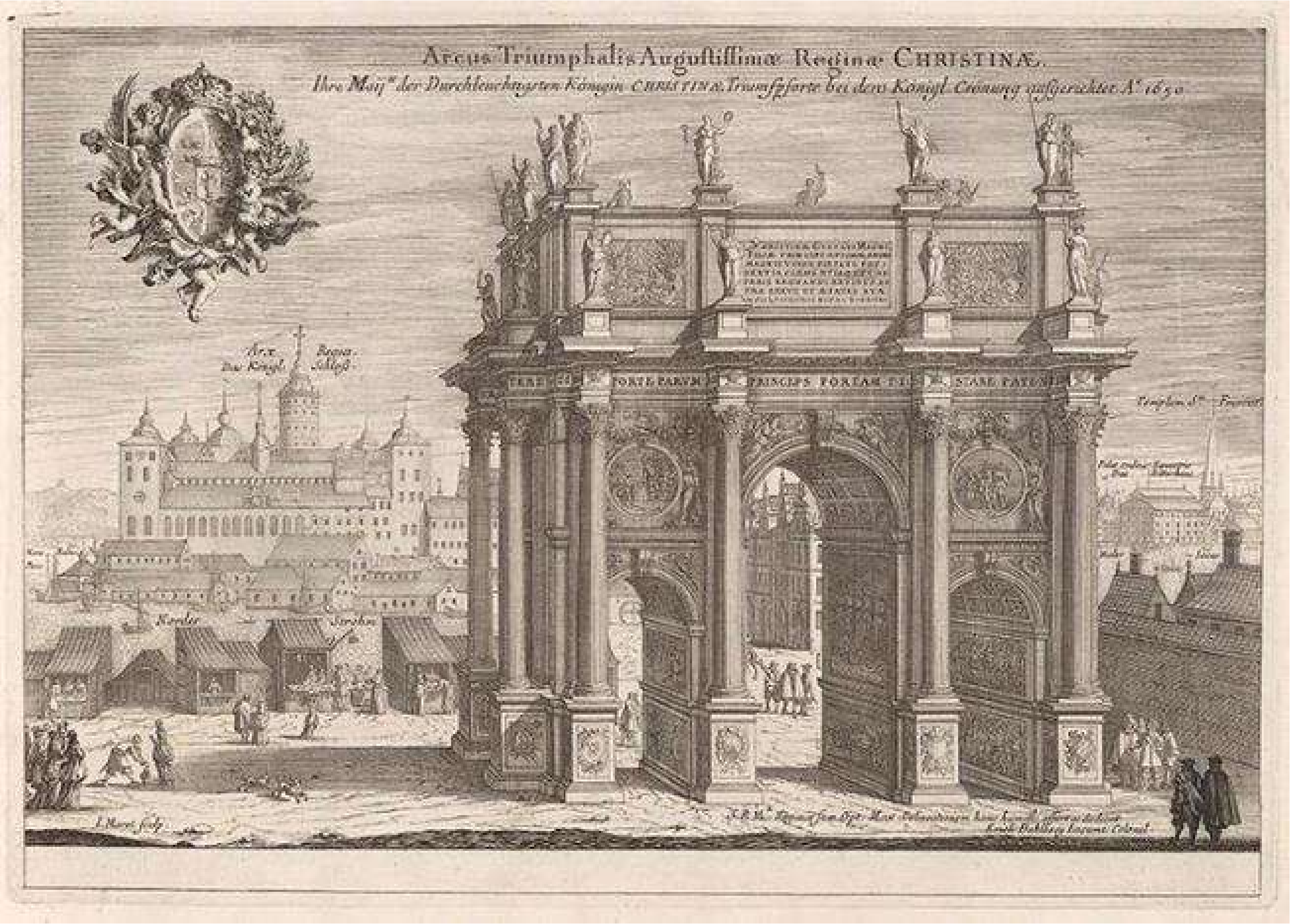
Arcus Triumphalis Augustissimæ Reginæ CHRISTINÆ.
Ihre Maij.tt der Durchleuchtigsten Königin CHRISTINÆ Triumfspforte bei dem Königl. Crönung auffgerichtet A.o 1650
PORTE PARVM
PRINCIPS PORTAM
STARE PATENS
Templum S.ti

Figure 55: *Christina's Coronation Arch.*
From *Erik Dahlberg, Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna.* ca. 1619-1679, engraving.
Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden (Photo: National Library of Sweden, Suecia antiqua et hodierna – ett digitalet project)

Minerva of the North

For Christina the use of classical subject matter and antique imagery allowed for unique, and more nuanced expressions of her position of power than would otherwise have been acceptable. The extensive body of portraits of Christina as Minerva focus on multiple aspects of the goddess but primarily highlight her wisdom and learning as well as her roles as a military leader and a peacemaker. When compared with other female rulers such as Marie de Medici and Anna of Austria who also had themselves depicted in the guise of the goddess Minerva (Fig.56), Christina's imagery generally favors a stricter, less romanticized classicism.[459] Christina's allegories typically lack the exposed breasts and opulent textiles seen in many other royal images of the type although notable exceptions exist.[460] One exception is a posthumous portrait of the Queen, showing her as a classicized bust, surrounded by female allegories, coins, medals, and obelisks. The scene is on the opening page of Abraham Bogaert's 1697 text on Roman emperors and imperial coinage and is reminiscent of the fantastical physical manifestation of rulership, antiquity, and allegory presented to Christina at the Collegium Romanum when she arrived in Rome (Fig.57).[461]

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[459] Marie de Medici seemed particularly interested in the portrayal of herself and others in the guise of classical figures. The Hall of the Conspirators at Fontainebleau features a series of allegorical portraits of members of the court of Marie de Medici. A particularly interesting figure in respect to simultaneous expressions of gender can also be found at Fontainebleau in a depiction of Charles IX portrayed as Janus, appearing with both male and female heads. For related information see: Geraldine Johnson, "Pictures fit for a queen: Peter Paul *Rubens* and the Marie de Medici cycle," in Reclaiming Female Agency Feminist Art History after Postmodernism, ed. Norma Broude (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 100-119; Kathleen Crawford, *The Sexual Culture of the French Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 236.

[460] There are a handful of allegorical images of Christina with an exposed breast but, when considered among the hundreds of images of the queen made during her lifetime, such depictions are anomalous. For an analysis of Christina's image in portraiture see: Nathan Popp, "Beneath the surface: the portraiture and visual rhetoric of Sweden's Queen Christina" (Masters Thesis: University of Iowa, 2010); Boo von Malmborg, "Porträts der Königin Christina vor ihrem Regierungsantritt 1644," in *Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1966), 226-43.

The print is signed “Goeree del . Baptist sculpt,” and offers an interesting look at Christina’s public image after her death, carried on through the posthumous publication of prints featuring her coin collection. Another frontispiece, signed by the same pair of Jacobus Baptist after designs by Jan Goeree, was produced for Basil Kennett’s book, Romæ Antiquæ Notitia*, or Antiquities of Ancient Rome* first published in 1696 (Fig.58).[462] The image has numerous similarities to the dedicatory frontispiece of Christina in Bogaert’s text. Both have allegories surrounded by putti playing with antique marbles or coins. Both have a female allegory holding a tablet and wearing a laurel, sitting next to a truncated columnar pedestal on which the name of the text appears. Such likenesses might be expected given the similar production period, topic, and artists. What is most striking is the placement of the allegory of Rome atop the pedestal in the *Antiquities* frontispiece juxtaposed to the same placement of the portrait bust of Christina in the Bogaert frontispiece. From looking at the iconography presented in these two images, it is clear that Christina’s desire to be seen as the inheritor of the classical tradition through allegory and objects was a resounding success. In the frontispiece image she is placed in the same position as Rome herself might be, her drapery loosely pined by a sun clasp on her right shoulder.

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[461] The text was published nearly a decade after the queen’s death and contained copperplate etchings of her coin cabinet. The full title of the text translates to: *The Roman Monarchy, in the coin images of the western and eastern emperors, starts from Caesar and ends with Leopold, the present Roman Emperor. All taken from the famous coin of her swedish majesty christina to Rome and cut in copper. Where in everything that happened to the Romans, Greeks, Germans, and other peoples, is unfolded and revealed by Abraham Bogaert.* Abraham Bogaert, *De roomsche monarchy,vertoont in de muntbeelden der westersche en oostersche keizeren beginnende van Caesar en eindigend met leopoldus ,den tegenwoordige roomsche keizer…* (Utrecht, Francois Halma en Willem van de Water, 1697), 1.

[462] First published in London in 1696.

Along with the sun imagery, the most frequent recurring themes on medals depicting the queen are portrait busts that show Christina as Minerva or as Alexander the Great. The heavy use of such imagery on coins and medals may seem an obvious choice given antique precedents for the format of such portraiture types on ancient coins. The continuation of these themes in prints and paintings confirms that portraits of Christina in antique and allegorical guises was not simple function of the medium, but rather, a deliberate artistic and propagandistic choice. An excellent example can be seen in the well-known portrait of Christina as Minerva by Dutch engraver Jeremias Falck.

The print depicts Christina physically as all three aspects of Minerva while textually comparing her to Alexander the Great (Fig.59). The image shows Christina as a marble bust sitting on a shelf, itself a nod to the queen's antiquarian interests and the tradition of learned collecting associated with the purchase and display of similar busts. She wears a truncated cuirass and plumed helm, symbols of the goddess' militaristic aspect. Beside the bust, an olive branch stands on her right while a stack of books and an owl on her left indicate her association with the Minerva of peace and of wisdom respectively. Beneath the portrait, an epigram refers to the artist of the work repeatedly as Apelles, thus indicating that Christina is fulfilling the role of Alexander, patron of Apelles, as well as the goddess. The assumption of both male and female personas by the queen both in print and on medals, was made possible through her allegorical appropriation of the attributes of figures from classical antiquity and was further legitimized through her visual quotation of ancient sculpture, thus firmly tying her otherwise radical imagery to an established visual tradition.

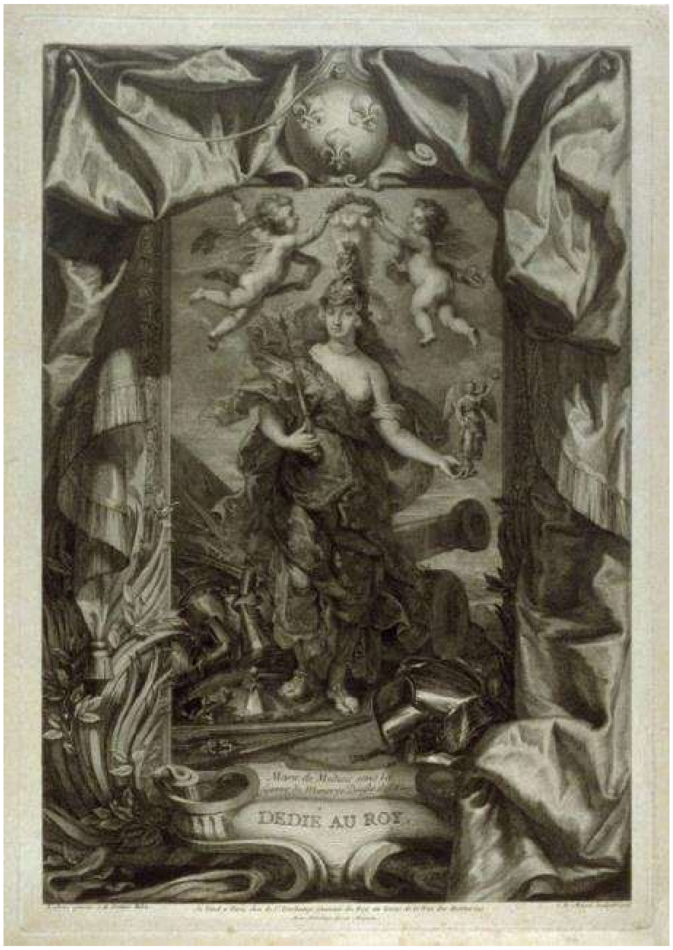

Figure 56: *Marie d'Medici as Minerva.*
Jean Baptist Masse after Peter Paul Rubens painting for the *Medici Cycle*. 1708, engraving. Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. (Photo: Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts)

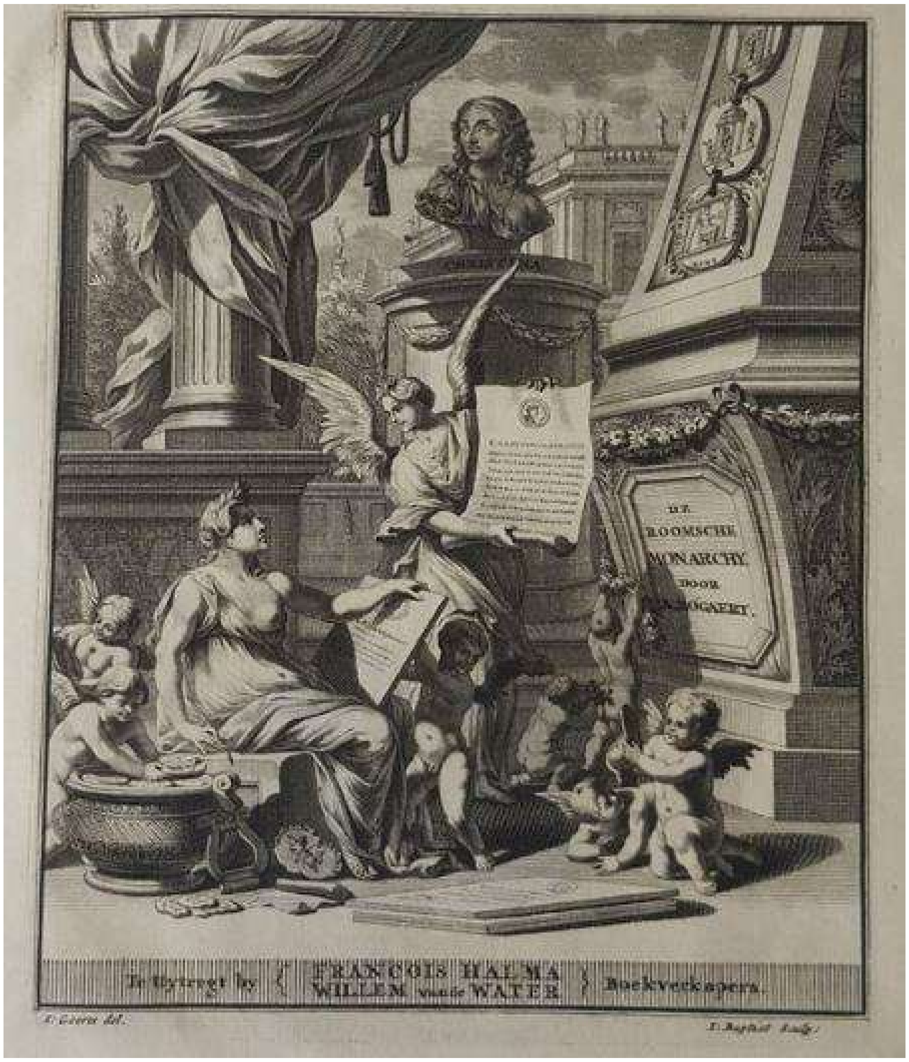
CHRISTINA
DE
ROOMSCHE
MONARCHY,
DOOR
BOGAERT.
Te Uytregt by FRANCOIS HALMA WILLEM van de WATER Boekverkopers.
J. Goeree del.
J. Baptist sculp.

Figure 57: *Frontispiece, De Roomsche Monarchy*, Featuring a Bust of Christina. Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist. 1697, etching/engraving. Norrköpings stadsbibliotek, Finspongs samlingen, 1160 Fol. (Photo: Author. Copy in the Nationalmuseum Archives)

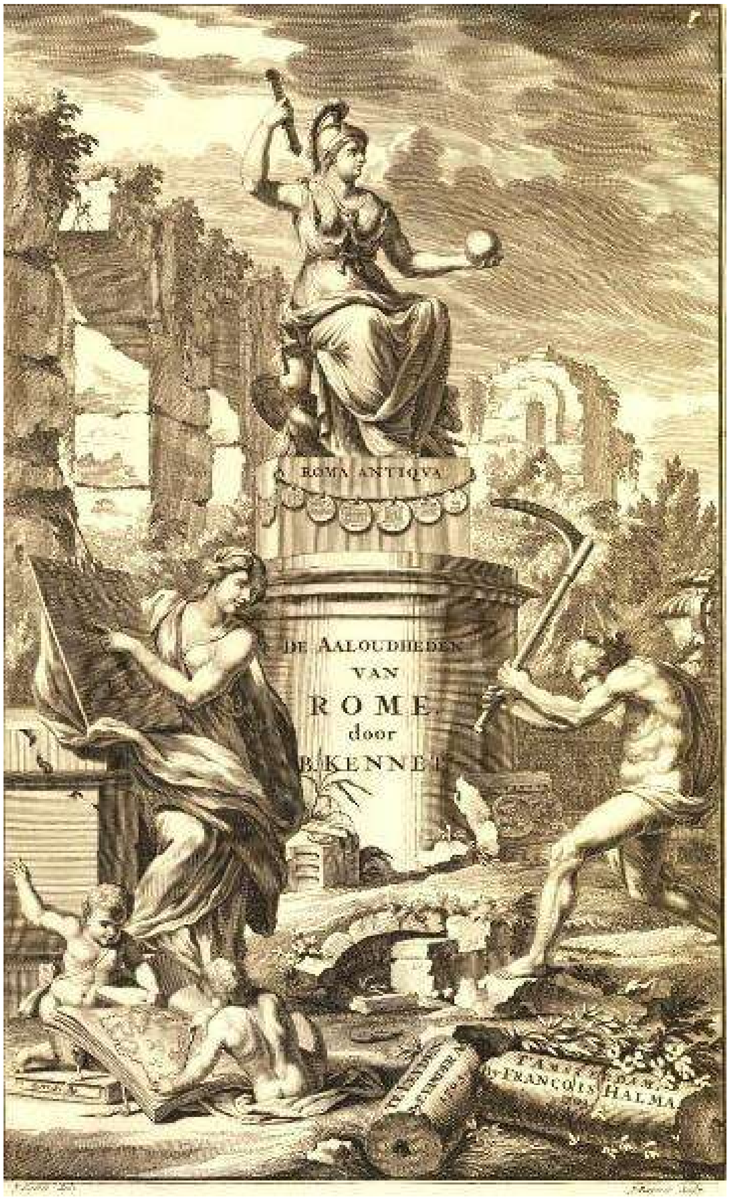
ROMA ANTIQVA
DE AALOUDHEDEN
VAN
ROME
door
B.KENNET
FRANCOIS HALMA

Figure 58: *Frontispiece to 'Antiquities of Ancient Rome.'*
Jan Goeree and Jacobus Baptist. 1697, etching/engraving. British Museum,
London (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

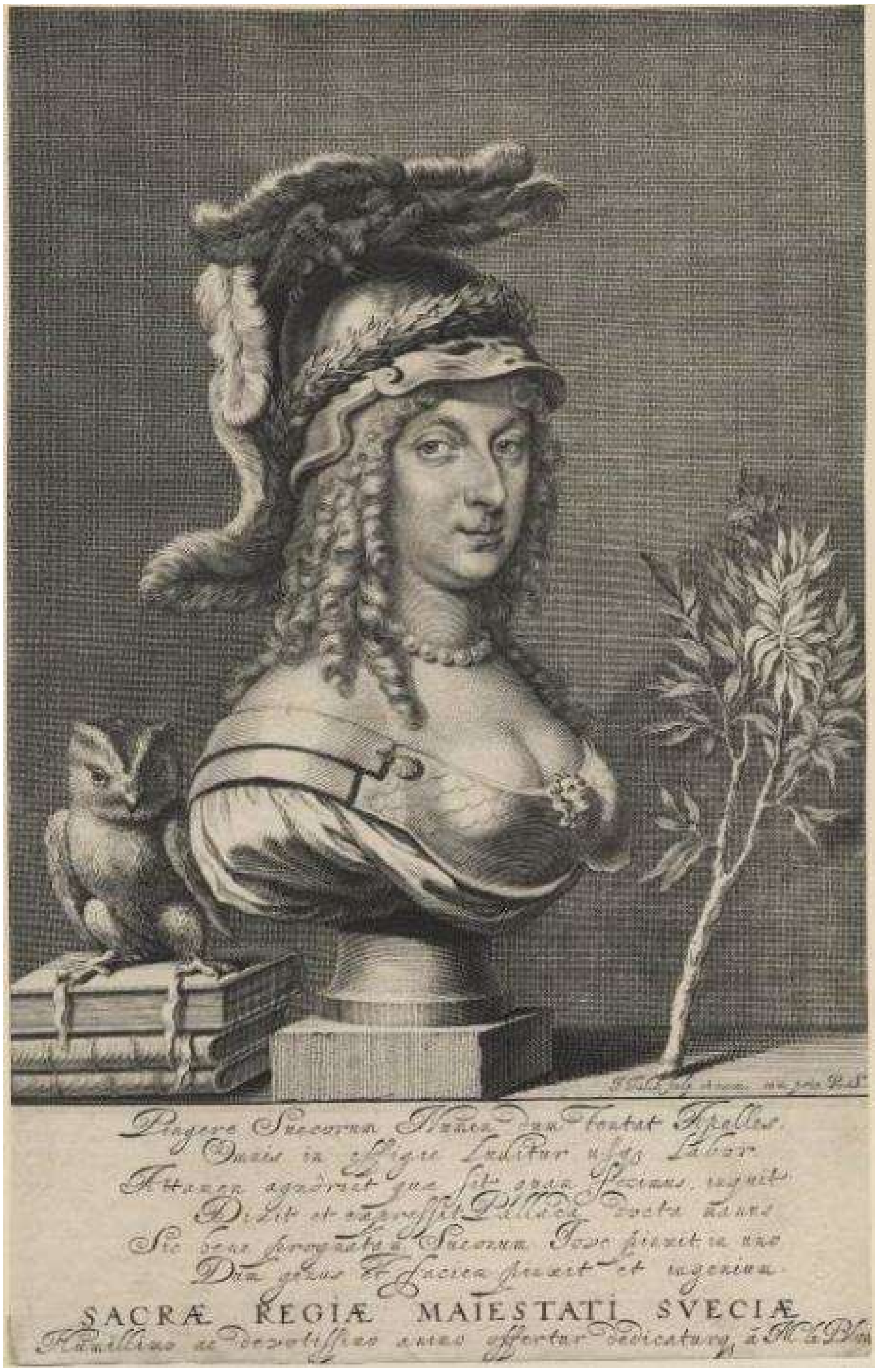
SACRÆ REGIÆ MAIESTATI SVECIÆ

Figure 59: *Christina as Minerva.*
Falk after David Beck and Erasmus Quelinus. 1649, engraving. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, P.7095-R (Photo: http://data.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/id/object/133914)

The Attributes of Hercules

Literary pieces such as John Knox's 1558 polemical work *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women,* provided female rulers with a difficult task when deciding how to present themselves as powerful without upsetting social norms. [463] The allegorical portrait allowed traditionally masculine traits desired in a leader, such as power, strength, wisdom and militarism, to be displayed without fear that the image would become a humorous one of gender inversion as seen in popular stories such as that of Hercules and the Lydian Queen Omphale.[464] In the story, Hercules is made slave to the Queen, forced to do women's work while she assumes his attributes in a mocking manner. Sixteenth and seventeenth-century representations of their encounter typically show Hercules dressed in women's clothing or stripped nude while Omphale/Iole is shown nude save for the playful donning of Hercules' lion pelt and club.

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[463] Christina's attire for her entrance into Rome is often compared to an Amazon warrior. In his treatise, Knox specifically rails against in imbalance to social order that results from female rule, comparing contemporary female rulers to Amazons in a distinctly negative light. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet: Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women 1558*, ed. Edward Arber (London: Southgate, 1878), 10. See also: Constance Jordan, "Feminism and the Humanists: The case of Sir Thomas Elyot's Defense of Good Women," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Margaret W. Ferguson et al. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 242-258; Shannon Janson, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women: Female Rulers in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

[464] Various versions of this story abound and it was a popular topic in painting, print and sculpture in the sixteenth and seventeenth-centuries with artists such as Bartholomäus Spranger, Peter Paul Rubens, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Carlo Cesi, and Annibale Caracci depicting the subject. Similar themes appear in images alternately titled "Hercules and Iole," where is is the maid or princess Iole who makes the hero her servant. A fascinating variation on the Venus portraits discussed by d'Ambra which has received little if any scholarly attention is a Severan period statue in the Vatican Museums which is identified as a portrait of a woman in the guise of Omphale. The figure assumes a pose similar to the Venus pudica; however, she pulls a paw of the lion's skin which is draped over her head, around her body to cover her genitals. Such an image calls into question the messages communicated and understood in antiquity related to such portrait statues and warrants further study. For a discussion of the theme of Omphale in the collections of Queen Christina see: Frans Baudouin, "Deux tableaux de Rubens de la collection de la Reine Christine: 'Hercule et Omphale' et 'La Mort d'Adonis,'" in *Queen Christina of Sweden: Documents and Studies*, Ed. Magnus Von Platen (Stockholm: Kungliga Boktryckeriet P.A. Norstedt and Söner, 1966), 20-32.

Christina certainly would have been aware of the perils of having herself likened to such gendered images of power inversion. One of the most famous depictions of the subject appeared in Annibale Carracci's frescoes for the gallery of Christina's former residence, the Farnese Palace (Fig.60). In the fresco the pair are shown in repose with their limbs intertwined, a strategically placed lion paw covering her lap while she grips the shaft of the over-sized club. Depictions of Christina with the attributes of Hercules carefully place her adjacent to but not in direct possession of the lion's skin and club. In an engraving by Pieter Nolpe printed in honor of Christina's coronation, celebratory text is surrounded by an extensive allegorical scene (Fig.61).[465] At the top of the page, Christina sits enthroned on Apollo's chariot. She is driven by Minerva and pulled by giant eagles while a putto crowns her with a laurel. Beneath Christina, Gustav I, and Gustav Adolph flank the text under figures of Securitas and Felicitas Temperance. Christina's father is shown in the guise of Hercules, holding a globe while standing wrapped in a lion's skin atop a dragon, club at his side. The bottom of the image is littered with trophies and instruments of science and knowledge. The image bears striking allegorical similarities to Falk's print which shows Christina being handed the club of Hercules from her father, accompanied by Jupiter (Fig.62).

Associations between Christina and Hercules can also be seen in an etching of Christina by Philip Fruytiers. The print shows her in profile as a classical bust crowned with laurel (Fig.63). The text below her reads "Regina Christina Maria Alexandra." Attributes of peaceful rulership encircle her. A palm and the club of Hercules bend up the left-side of the image, wrapped in the words "Gloria Spreta," while a trumpet and olive branch intertwined with the words "Inventa Pace," curl around her bust on the right to form a medallion around her image.[466] This is similar to the manner that she appeared in relation to Hercules's attributes in the allegorical prints by Nolpe and Falk. These prints established the international image of the queen through allegory and were used to underscore and promote Apollonian, Herculean, and dynastic themes. Christina's desire to carry on her father's association with Hercules continued in Rome and is manifest in the numerous sculptures of the demi-god among her collections at the Palazzo Riario.

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[465] An almost exact copy of this print was made for the coronation of Christina's successor Karl Gustav. Interestingly, Christina, who the plate was originally created for, does not feature on the image. Her visage on the chariot at the top of the print is replaced with her rather corporeal cousin. The text which filled the center of Christina's version is replaced with a bust-length portrait of the new king. He remains flanked by the allegorical figures of Gustav Adolph as Hercules and Gustav Vasa.

The consideration of an allegorical portrait's reception had parallels in the display of antique sculpture as the themes presented and the organization of subjects in relation to one another as well as their environment stood to influence their perceived meaning and acted as a direct reflection of the collection's owner. This is particularly relevant with respect to Christina's sculptural displays in Rome as the space doubled as her throne room, fulfilling ceremonial and official functions representative of her social and political positions. Despite her continued use of Herculean images in Rome, Christina was notably never depicted wearing or holding the lion's skin or club herself. This confirms the idea that, despite its ability to transcend gendered boundaries, the allegorical genre remained fraught with the threat of misplaced meanings and negative associations. Such dangers of association had already been validated by her paragon and predecessor as female king, Elizabeth I to whom Spenser penned a domineering, cautionary version of the Omphale story in his *Faerie Queen.*[467]

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[466] The text indicates that spurning glory, she creates peace.

[467] Unlike the Dionysian or marital allegories which were popular in sixteenth and seventeenth-century representations of Hercules and Omphale, Spenser's dedication of the *Faerie Queen* to Elizabeth appears much

Veronica Biermann has suggested that Christina was able to display and view her collection of mythological paintings, arguably intended for a male gaze only, in her grand gallery at the Palazzo Riario only through the assumption of one of her classical masculine guises.[468] While her allegorical personas did provide some amount of fluidity in the ways the queen was able to project her power and influence, such imagery was always used to substantiate and enhance qualities already possessed by the queen such as knowledge and political authority. The queen's ability to view her own paintings and to collect typically masculine objects such as antiquities was a product of her role as queen, enhanced but not dictated by her ability to embody male and female allegorical personas.

In the context of Christina's lifelong visual and textual derivation of power and legitimacy through the adoption of antique imagery, Sebastian Bourdon's equestrian portrait can be seen as a sort of turning point. The nod to Constantinian tradition in equestrian portraiture exemplified by depictions of her father on his horse Strife (Fig.64), rooted her in her past while imagery of Alexander the Great looked ahead to her abdication and assumption of the title Alexandra. His depiction of Christina atop her own Bucephalus projected an image of kingship in the visual quotation of Alexander and the hunting theme of the image while maintaining her femininity. This balance of Baroque social decorum and a desire to inhabit a traditionally masculine role in society would put Christina's desires at odds with her capabilities throughout her life, creating an almost endless stream of social criticism still seen in scholarship today. The portrait cautiously depicts the queen in the manner which she wished to be presented to an

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more in line with northern Renaissance depictions of heroic humiliation and was intended to serve as a cautionary tale for the queen. Frances Huemer, "A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens." *The Art Bulletin* 61, no. 4 (1979): 574.

[468] Biermann, "The Virtue of a King and the Desire of a Woman," 213–30.

international audience that can also be seen in her collection and display of antique sculpture. It projects learning, taste, power, and independence inherited from the classical past.

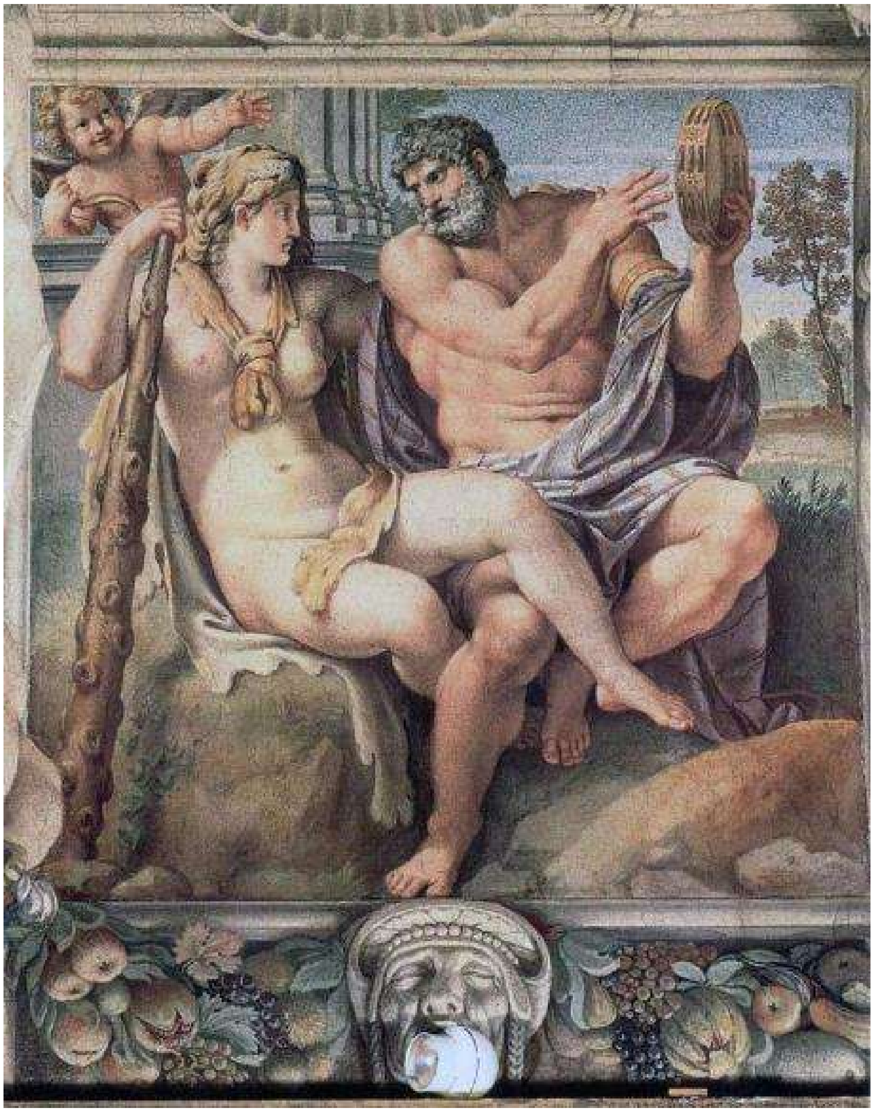

Figure 60: *Hercules and Ione/Omphale.*
Annibale Carracci and workshop. 1597-1608, fresco. Palazzo Farnese, Rome
(Photo: Wikimedia Commons)

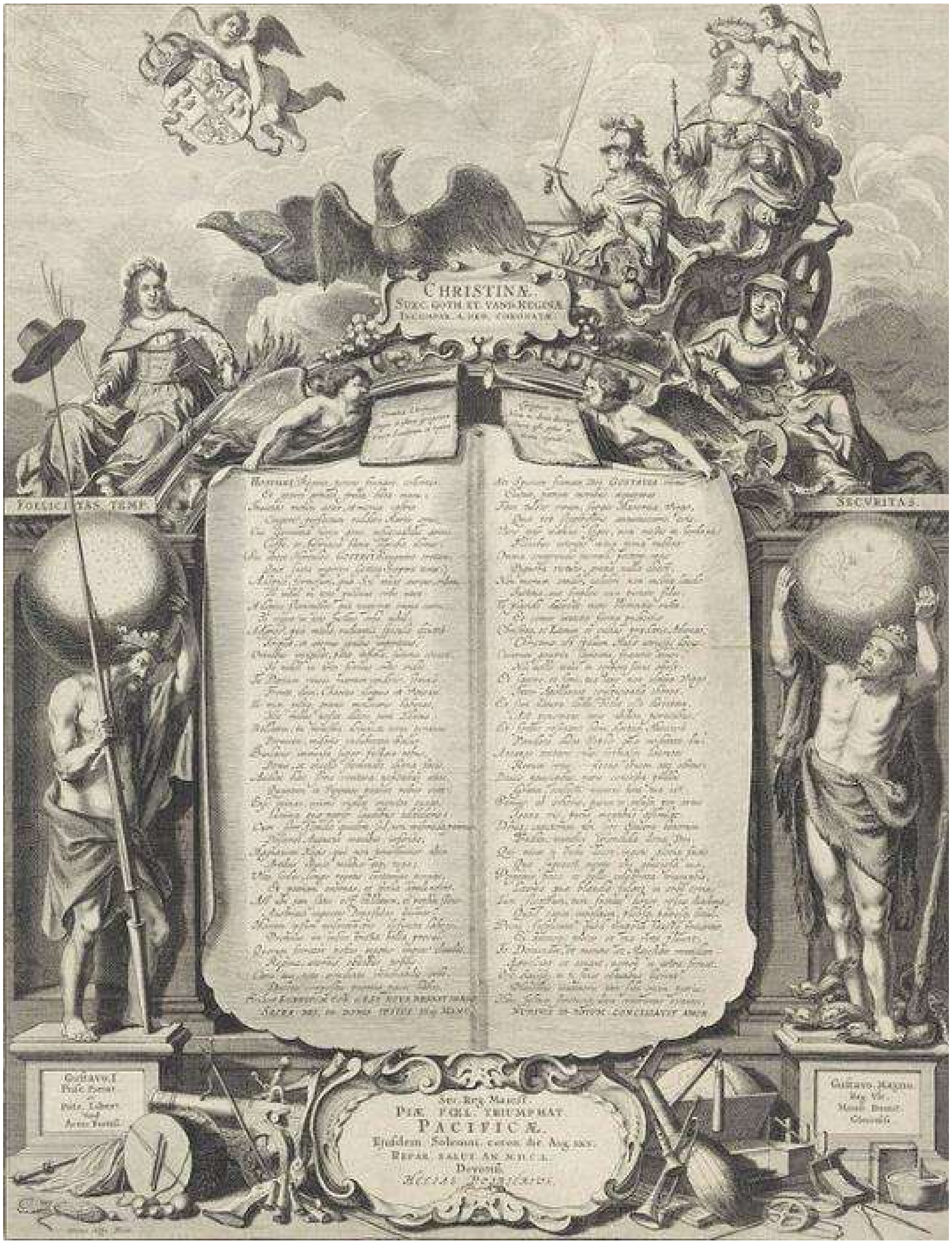
CHRISTINÆ
FOELICITAS TEMP.
SECURITAS
PIÆ FŒL. TRIUMPHAT
PACIFICÆ.

Figure 61: *Allegory in Celebration of the Coronation of Christina of Sweden.*
Pieter Nolpe. Before 1653, engraving (Photo: FineArtAmerica.com)

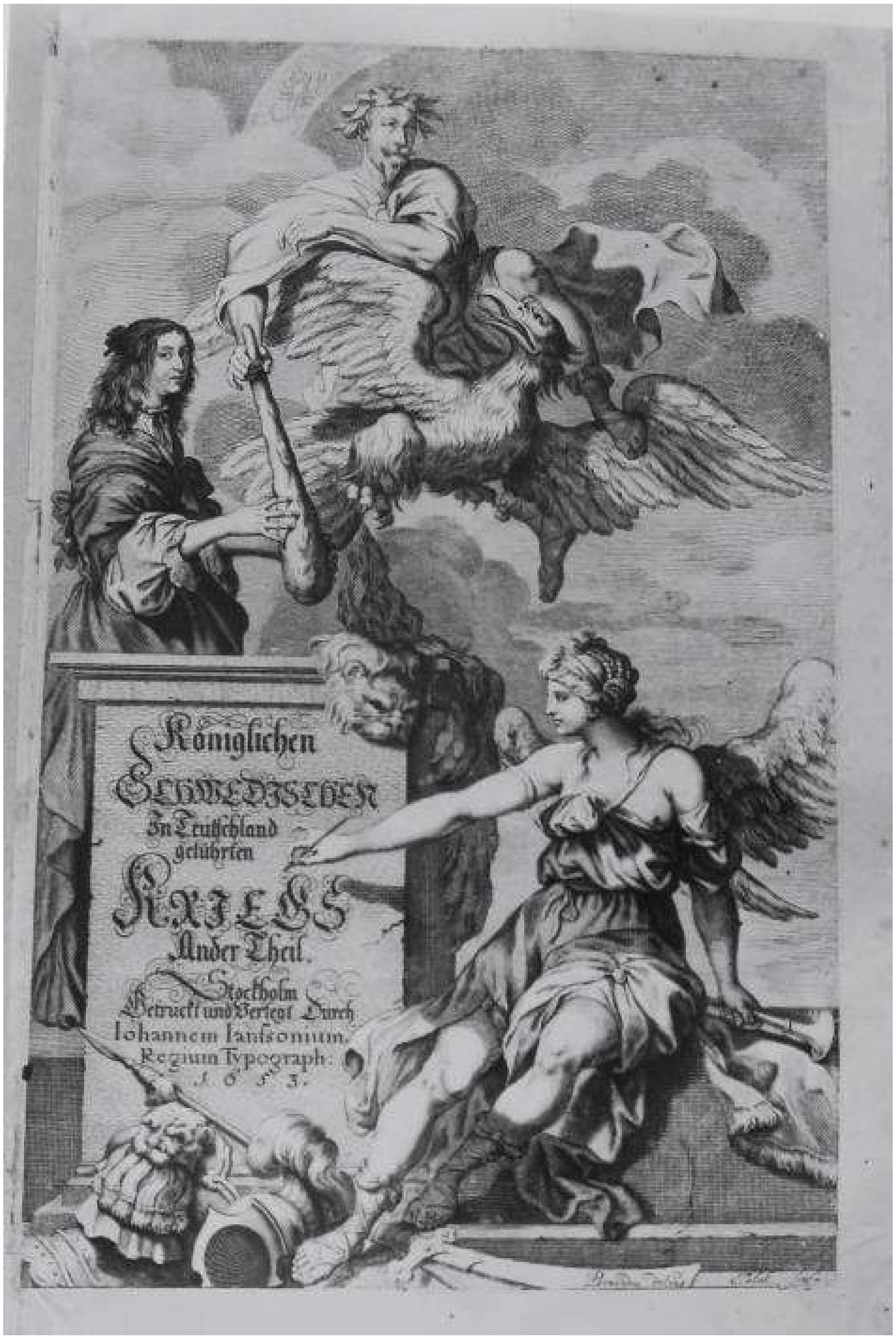
Königlichen
SCHWEDISCHEN
In Teutſchland
geführten
KRIEGS
Ander Theil.
Stockholm
Getruckt und Verlegt Durch
Iohannem Ianſsonium.
Regium Typograph:
1653.

Figure 62: *Christina Inheriting the club of Hercules from Gustav as Jupiter,* or *Allegory of Fame Recording Victory in Germany.*
Jerimias Falk after Sébastien Bourdon. 1653, etching (Photo: Author. Reproduction at Nationalmuseum archives, Stockholm)

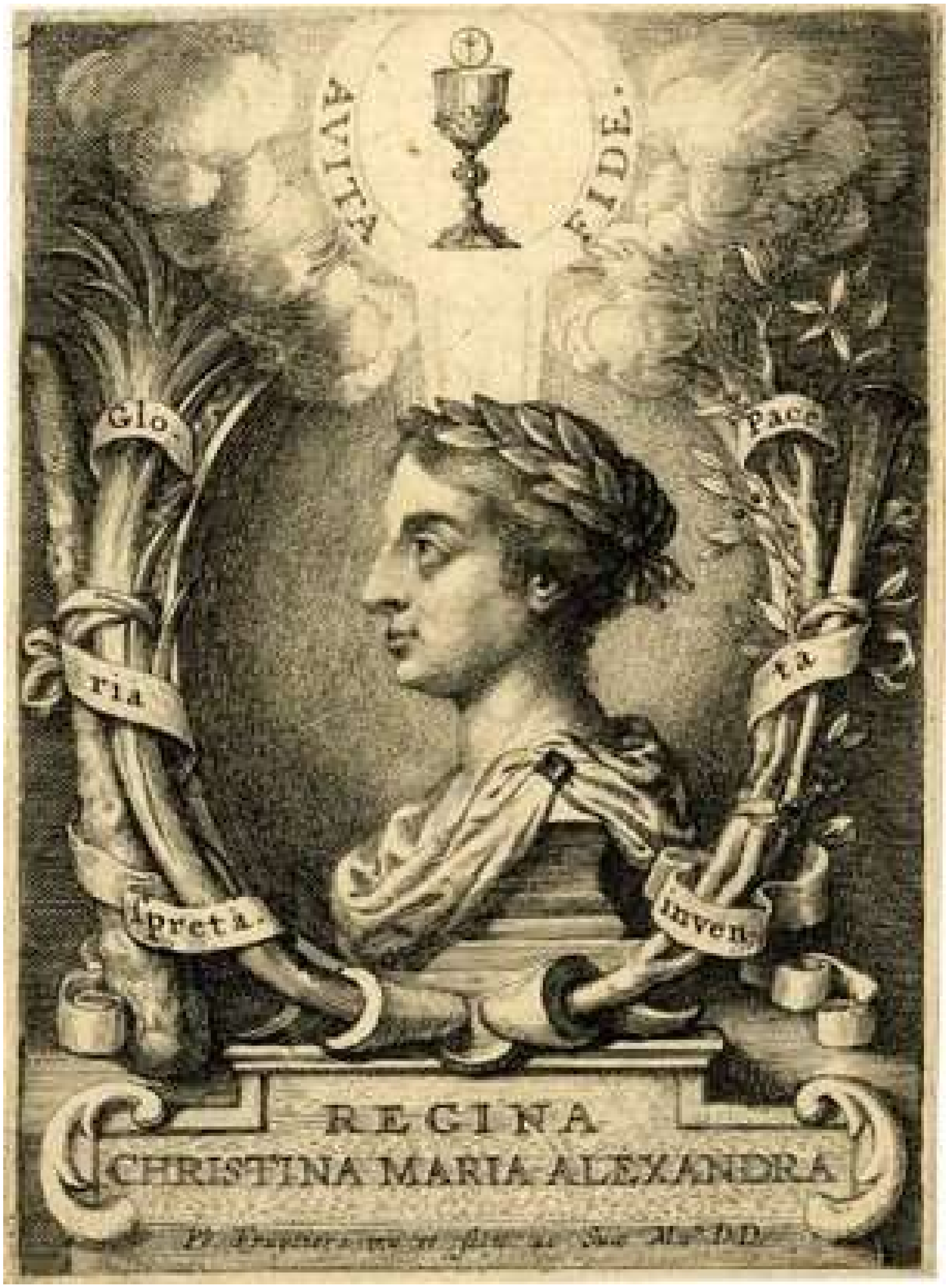
AVITA FIDE.
Glo
ria
Spreta
Pace
ta
Inven
REGINA
CHRISTINA MARIA ALEXANDRA

Figure 63: *Regina Christina Maria Alexandra,* Portrait with Bust and Laurel. Philips Fruytiers. 1632-54, etching. British Museum, London, S.4955 (Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum)

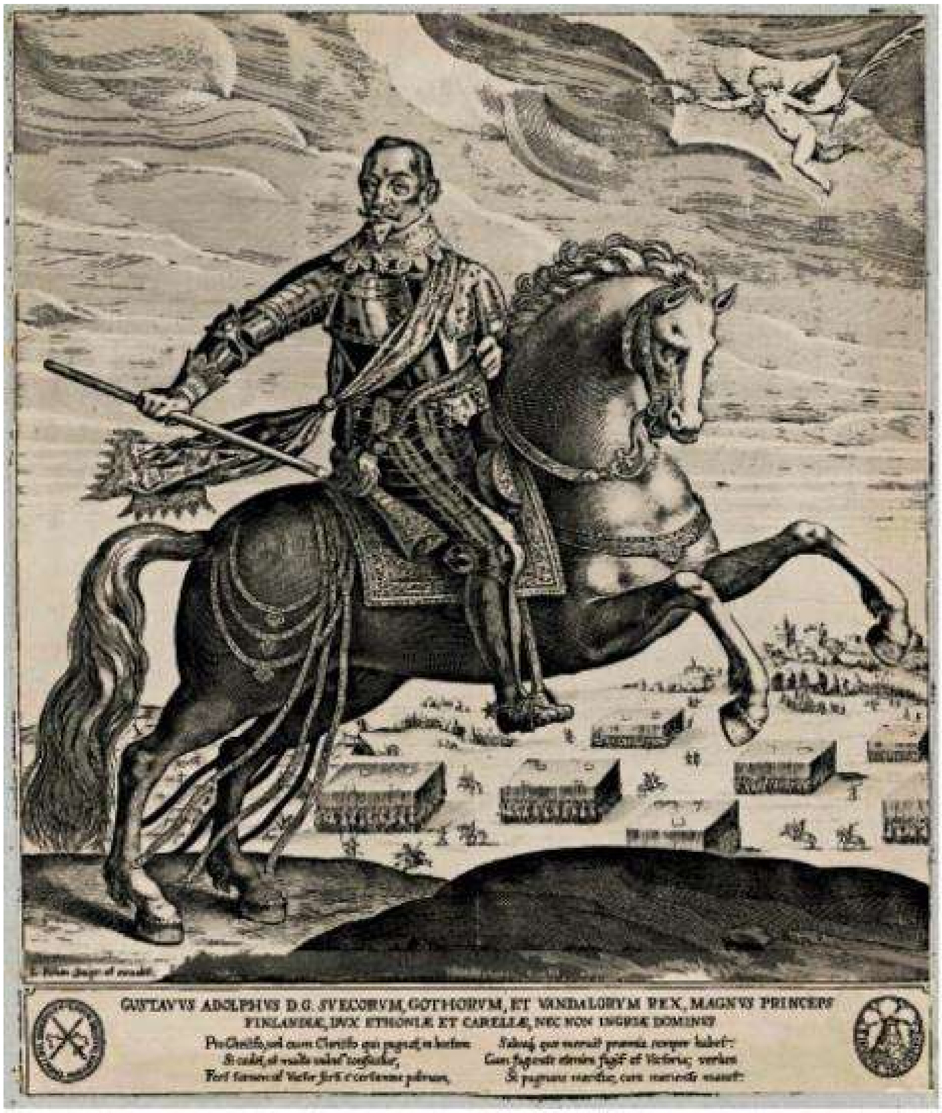
GVSTAVVS ADOLPHVS D.G. SVECORVM, GOTHORVM, ET VANDALORVM REX, MAGNVS PRINCEPS
FINLANDIÆ, DVX ETHONIÆ ET CARELIÆ, NEC NON INGRIÆ DOMINVS

Figure 64: *Gustavus Adolphus D.G. Svecorum, Gothorum, et Vandalorum Rex, Magnus*. Lucias Kilian. 1611-37, engraving. Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden (Photo: Heritage Image Partnership Ltd. DE6X91)

Conclusion

Queen Christina had an impressive collection of paintings by Italian masters. With paragons of Renaissance artistic patronage such as the Farnese at her doorstep and the Vatican a stone's throw away, it should come as no surprise that the Roman collections and displays most comparable to Christina's were those of prominent papal families and famous patrons of the *cinquecento*. Christina displayed the finest aspects of a noble collection through her patronage of the period's best artists. She showed all the best qualities of a learned collection through her display of coins and antique marbles. The immersive displays created for her antiquities in the Palazzo Riario argued for royal magnificence and presented an allegory of queenship that rivaled Europe's most famous royal and noble collections.

The large numbers of ancient and modern marbles owned by Christina attracted the attention of scholars discoursing in her gardens and travelers looking to compare her objects to the other illustrious collections they were visiting. As seen in her early Swedish collections, the display of antiquities for political and social gain was popular throughout Europe. Christina's appropriation of this sort of local visual vernacular was truly a brilliant maneuver for her establishment in Rome. Her collection of marbles was described by visitors as the best in the city, a statement which seems to have been equal parts obsequiousness and truth when the collection is examined alongside the fifty or more collections listed in the *Nota.*

In comparing allegorical images used to celebrate Christina's reign in Sweden to her thematic use of classical imagery in the Palazzo Riario, there are notable elements of both consistency and discord. While Constantinian references may have benefited the queen in

Stockholm, such themes disappear almost completely in her Roman context, as imperial allegory was unnecessary without an empire to rule. Alexandrian, Minervan, and Apollonian themes were retained as kingship, knowledge, and patronage of the arts remained qualities that the queen wished to project to her Roman audience. This continuation of allegorical imagery across geographical, temporal, and religious boundaries throughout Christina's life is seen in the purchases outlined here in parts one and two and is paralleled in the subjects of the prints, medals and texts produced throughout her life that were discussed in Part Three.

Christina's use of both Minervan and Alexandrian imagery served her political and social purposes in her lifetime. However, like her secretive travel through central Europe in men's clothing the year after her abdication, her attempts to embody both genders simultaneously have contributed to countless sensationalized accounts of her amour and a near relentless obsession with her sexuality. This fixation endures in contemporary biographies although it could be argued that the manifestation of this posthumous scholarly interest in her sexuality reached its zenith in 1965 with the exhumation of the Christina's remains in the grottos of St. Peter's. Carl-Herman Hjortsjö's medical and anthropological analysis of the remains measured her pelvis in detail, seeking confirmation of suspected hermaphrodism.[469]

Instead of the intended image of Christina as gender neutral body politic, the queen's popular legacy has increasingly been distorted and sexualized, with discussion of her ambiguous gender and sexual preferences along with social nonconformity amplified in the popular imagination. She chose not to mirror Elizabeth I's personification of virginity and as a result, beginning in the late seventeenth century, Christina was increasingly depicted as sexually deviant. Her occasional personal preference for plain attire has merged with the accounts of her travel incognito as a man to create an image of the masculine anti-Queen that appears in countless operas, literary works and films. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Christina was increasingly depicted in an illustration for Hendrik van Damme's biography of the queen printed in 1708 as sexually deviant, seducing her friend and heir, the Cardinal Decio Azzolino as the Pope, dismayed, looked away in disgust (Figs. 65, 66).

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[469] Hjortsjö, *Queen Christina of Sweden: a medical/anthropological investigation*.

Greta Garbo's famous portrayal of the queen projects a strangely hypersexual depiction of the woman who wrote of her disgust at the idea of marriage and who was never known to have had intimate physical relations. The latest incarnation of this trend perpetuates the overly sexualized and sensationalized imagery that has plagued the legacy of the queen. "*Christina*, *the Girl King*," is a play recently turned into a film of the same name. In it Greta Garbo's velvet pants suits have morphed into leather pants and corsets. The queen is portrayed as an art lover and huntress who teases men and forces herself on women, roughly having her way with the Countess Ebba Spare on top of the *codex gigas,* or "Devils Bible," taken by the Queen's troops from Prague (Fig.67).[470]

In literature, Christina has become a nearly impossible contradiction of herself. She is portrayed as a collector with no money, a queen with no throne, a Protestant and a Catholic, a Swede and a Roman, a king and a queen, a lesbian and a cardinal's lover, a personality of European civilization, a hermaphrodite, and an atheist. The New York Times described her portrayal in a recent biography as a combination of Peggy Guggenheim, Wile E. Coyote and St. Francis of Assisi.[471] While many of these labels and lenses with which we analyze her may be valid, Christina's own self-fashioning through allegory, as well as the objects she purchased and how she displayed them provides us a glimpse of how the queen herself wanted to be viewed. Some work on Christina has used her allegorical images to illustrate speculation on her sexuality, inadvertently inverting cause and effect by framing a construct based on a misinterpretation of imagery. I believe that Christina wanted to be viewed first and foremost as a knowledgeable Queen. Her patronage of the arts, participation in scholarly circles, and embellishment of her residence through antique sculpture reflected her personal interests. They additionally ensured her position as an intellectual and social equal among other rulers. Her classicized persona engendering recognition of her legitimacy, respect of her ability, and acknowledgment of her historically justified inclusion within the European courts.

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[470] There are many different approaches to her sexuality. Some modern members of the Swedish LGBT community fiercely defend the narrative of Christina's lesbianism. Writers such as Veronica Buckley have searched to apply contemporary psychological and medical diagnosis to the queen's apparently ambiguous sexuality. Ultimately, it is impossible for us to know Christina's anatomy and personal preferences. Buckley, *Christina Queen of Sweden: The Restless Life of a European Eccentric,* 20-21.

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[471] Bruce Bawer, "Christina, Queen of Sweden: A Royal Mess," T*he New York Times,* Nov. 7, 2004.

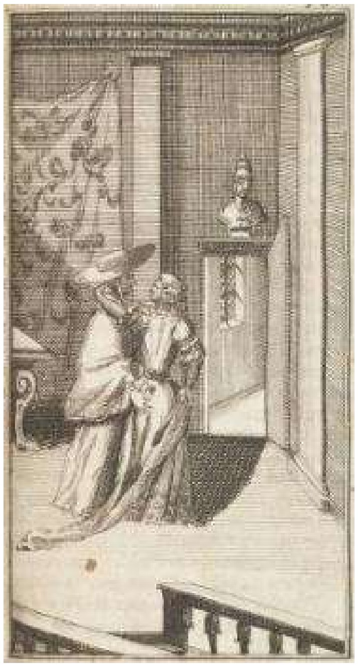

Figure 65: *Christina and Cardinal Azzolino.*
1708, engraving. In, Hendeik van Damme, *Het Leven en Bedryf van Christina, Koninginne van Sweeden, & d Sedert haar geboorte tot op des zelfs dood*. Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden (Photo: Author)

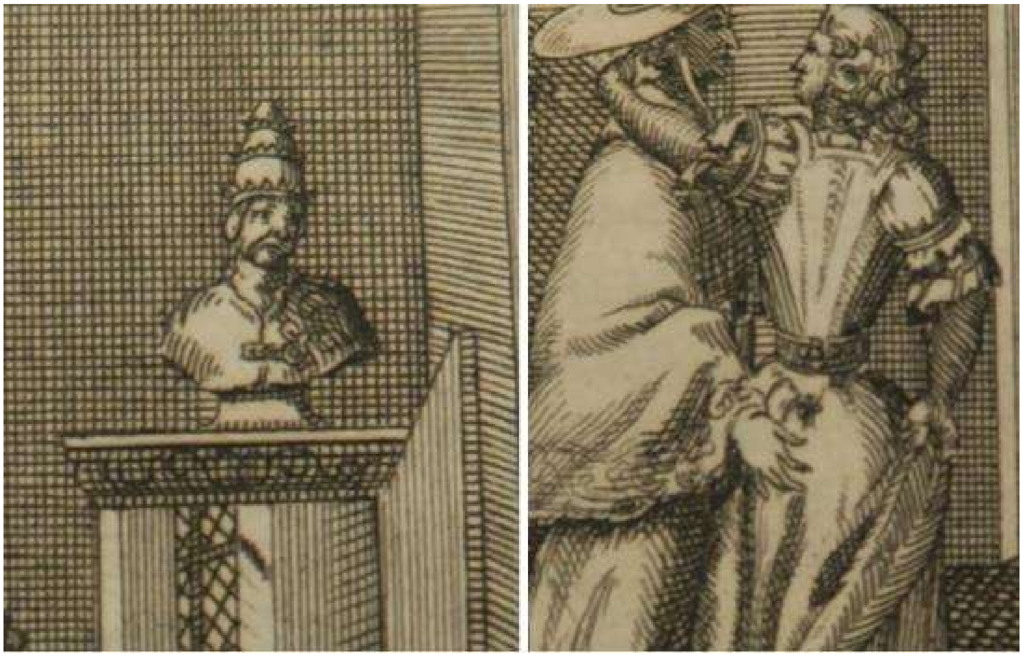

Figure 66: *Christina and Cardinal Azzolino*, detail.
1708, engraving. In, van Damme, *Het Leven*. Kungliga biblioteket/National Library of Sweden (Photo: Author)

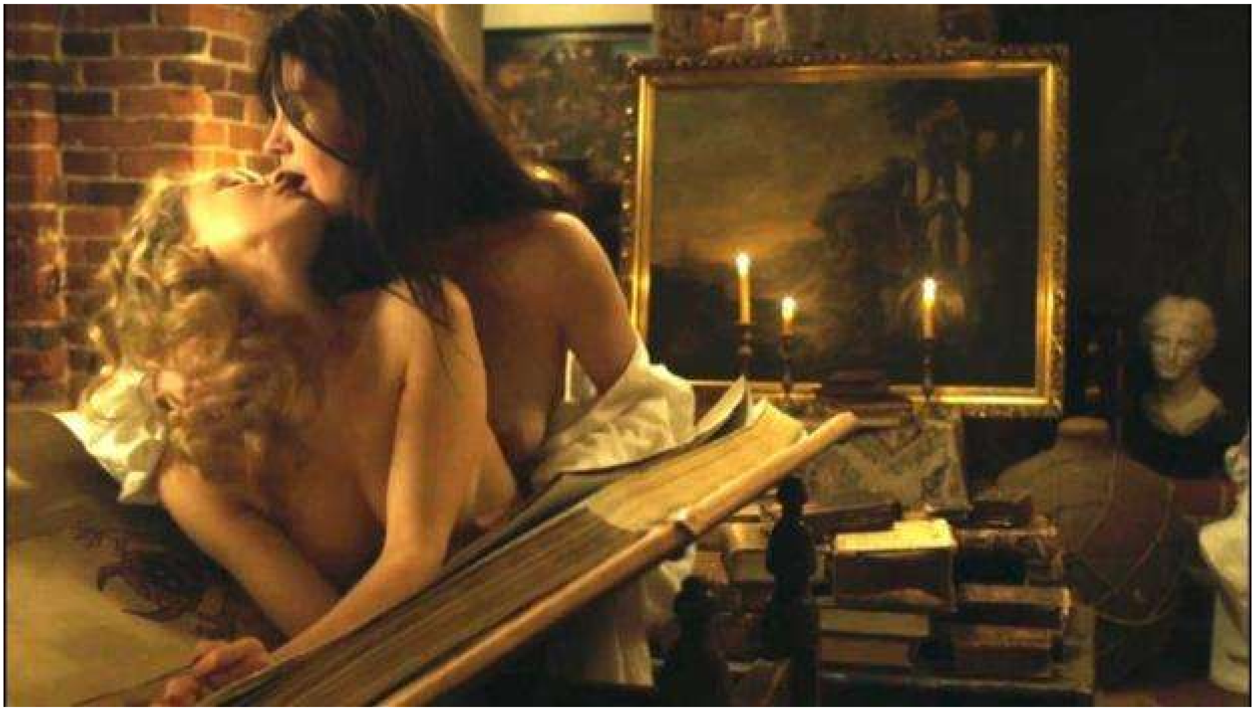

Figure 67: *Still from Christina, the Girl King Featuring Prague Booty.* Directed by Mika Juhani Kaurismäki. *Theatrical release,* 2015. (Photo: saltypopcorn.com, *Mardi Gras Film Festival*, Feb.7, 2016)

Appendix

The following is short annotated summary of the most well-known collections with antiquities in Rome as they are described in the *Nota.* A great deal of further study on these collections and the networks of antiquarians working in Rome is needed as there is no modern text which outlines the state of antiquities collecting in the seventeenth century. Some collections that had a handful of antiquities may not appear on this list as entries such as the description of the collections such as those of the Lord of Arsoli and the Principe Camillo Pamphilj describe only "other statues" or "ornaments of statues and sculptures," not specifying whether the objects are ancient or modern. The following account is therefore not meant to be a comprehensive accounting of everyone who owned antique marbles in Rome, but rather, to separate those collections that had a display of significant quality and or quantity to be considered as moving in the same sphere of influence as Christina's collection.[472]

- Leonardo Agostini (1593–1669): An antiquarian who worked for a significant amount of time for Cardinal Francesco Barberini. He served as Commissioner of Antiquities, a papal supervisor for Pope Alexander VII, and worked on the text *Gemme antiche figurate* with Bellori.[473] His collection included notable antique marbles, medals, cameos, and carved gems.

- Torquato Alexandris: His collection was housed in the palace of his patron, a Monsignor Buratti, and was well known for its collection of curiosities and antiquities.[474]

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[472] For a more complete view of seventeenth-century Roman material culture and the collections listed below see: Ago. *Gusto for Things*. For other sources on these families and their collections see: Burke, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*; Borsoi, *Raccogliere "curiosità" nella Roma barocca*, 80. See also: Totti. *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*; Majanlahti, *The Families Who Made Rome*; Wren Christian*, Empire Without End*; Herklotz, *Cassiano dal Pozzo und die Archäologie*; Findlen*, Possessing Nature*.

[473] Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue Between Roman and Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), 72-74.

- The Aldobrandini Gardens: The collections of the Aldobrandini gardens on the Monte Magnanapoli are mentioned in the *Nota* along with the palace which housed a collection of statues and antique bas-reliefs.[475]

- Cavaliere Nicolò Antoni: This collector is described in the *Nota* as an agent for the King of Spain with the antiquities mentioned accompanying a library. It is worth noting the number of individuals on the list of antiquarian collectors who were doing so on behalf of a patron or whose personal collections relied heavily on such patronage.

- The Barberini: The collection referenced is the one that had belonged to Maffeo Barberini, later known as Pope Urban VIII. The marbles displayed at the Barberini Palace at the Quatro Fontane are described in the *Nota* through the mention of several specific works such as the famous Barberini Faun, now in the Glyptothek, Munich, and imperial busts, along with the family's collection of inscriptions and marbles.[476] The Barberini Family's collection appears in a separate entry for their library where Urban VIII's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini displayed ancient medals, gems, intaglios, cameos, and small antique marbles such as Bacchus which was well known at the time. Fracesco Barberini appears also in the entry for the collection of the Biblioteca Angelica where he is named as the benefactor who distributed texts from the collection of Lucas Holstenius.

- Giovan Pietro Bellori: Bellori's entry in the *Nota* is brief, mentioning only that he owned a study that contained drawings, paintings, and antiquities. Bellori's early residency and training with the antiquarian Francesco Angeloni.[477] Bellori's collection contained ancient coins, medals, gems, and marbles, and, although its contents were not on the scale of the collections he helped amass for Angeloni, Christina, or Clement X, his personal collection was of sufficient value to have been purchased by the Elector of Brandenburg where it was installed in his *Kunstkammer* in Berlin to serve as the foundation of Prussia's royal antiquities collection.[478]

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[474] Maria Barbara Guerrieri Borsoi notes that he lived near S. Maria Della Pace in 1638. The collection is noted in Totti's guide to Rome of that same year which mentions a collection "di vaghi antichità." The Nota as well as Borsoi metion that by 1663 he was living in the palace of Monsignor Buratti (Borsoi says it's also called Palazzo Alberoni) at Angelo Custode which is along the via Tritone. Cartare visited the museum at Angelo Custode in 1663 and noted some of the contents. This document is reproduced in the appendices as number one in Borsoi's text. Borsoi *Raccogliere "curiosità" nella Roma barocca*, 80; Totti. *Ritratto di Roma Moderna*, 257.

[475] On the Aldobrandini collections in the *settecento* see: Burke, *Art and Identity in Early Modern Rome*, 95-108.

[476] For more on the Barberini and their relationship to Rome's antique past see: Victor Plahte Tschudi, *Baroque Antiquity: Archaeological Imagination in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 204-208.

[477] For additional biographical information see: Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown, *Italy and Spain 1600-1750: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 5-6.

[478] On Bellori's antiquarian circle in Rome see: Lisa Beaven, *An ardent patron. Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his antiquarian and artistic circle: Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Claude Lorrain, Nicolas Poussin, Diego Velázquez*, (London and Madrid: P. Holberton-C. Estd. Europa Hispánica, 2010). On the afterlife of Bellori's collection, see:

- The Borghese: The *Nota* entry for the Borghese palace in the Campo Marzio begins by describing the arcades of the building which it proclaims were made from 100 ancient columns. The descriptions go on to mention the sculptures and paintings of the palace with a separate entry in the *Nota* for the Villa Borghese. The Villa is likewise described as constructed with antiquities, being encrusted in bas-relief and statues. Seven of the most famous antique sculptures collected by Cardinal Scipione are mentioned but no description of their placement within the Villa is given nor are the thematic interactions between the frescoed spaces and sculptural display explicitly described.[479]

- Campidoglio: Arguably the most famous statue in Rome, the Marcus Aurelius, was displayed in the center of the piazza on top of the Capitoline hill. Along with it were marble trophies and the colossal antique river god statues. The *Nota* names and gives short descriptions of 22 antique bronzes, marbles, and fragments displayed in the civic collection which is by far the most extensive and detailed picture provided in the text of a single group of antiquities.[480] The collection on the Campidoglio was the foundation of the Capitoline Museums and remains one of the only locations in the *Nota* where none of the items described have since been dispersed.

- Giovanni Angelo Canini: The painter had a small study full of intaglios, medals, and drawings. He published a book on famous ancient personages as well as two texts related to the study of archaeology. Canini was patronized by Christina and was heavily influenced in his own work by the study of antique coins and gems.[481]

- Federico Maria Cesi Duke of Aquasparta: The *Nota* describes Cesi's (now lost) palace in the Borgo. Federico himself was not an avid antiquarian collector but, rather, he owned the famous collection of sculptures, architectural fragments, and inscriptions amassed in the later decades of the seicento by Cardinal Pier Donato Cesi Senior. The Cesi antiquities collection was among the only great sixteenth century antiquities collections still owned and cared for by its founding family by the mid-1600s. Five of the most prominent sculptures such as the Juno, now in the Capitoline Museums, and a Silenus in addition to a set of herms depicting philosophers. Accounts of the collection mention works from throughout the ancient Mediterranean including Greek and Egyptian antiquities.[482]

Andreas Scholl, "Thee Museums One Collection: The Antikensammlung Berlin as a Research Institute," in *Cypriote Antiquities in Berlin in the Focus of New Research*, ed. Vassos Karageorghis, Elena Poyiadji-Richter, and Sabine Rogge (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2014), 19.

[479] For a description of the Borghese antiquities and their placement within the scope of the family's collecting and display see: Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[480] This display is well described in Paul, *The First Modern Museums of Art*, 21-46.

[481] Giovanni Battista Passeri. *Vite de pittori, scultori ed architetti: che anno lavorato in Roma, morti dal 1641 fino al 1673.* (Rome: Presso Gregorio Settari, 1772), 364–369.

- The Chigi: The antique sculptures mentioned in the *Nota* were used as decorative features in Cardinal Flavio Chigi's well-respected and well-appointed library. An additional collection of curiosities that included various antique objects is mentioned in the Chigi's palace in Formello, just north of Rome. Don Agostino Chigi's collection of antique medals and coins is listed separately in the *Nota.*[483]

- The Collegio Romano and the house of the Jesuits: The collections at the Roman college were extensive and included Egyptian, Roman, and Greek antiquity. It was developed at great length by Athanasius Kircher who was a friend and correspondent of Christina. Her visit to his studio was noted by contemporaries and she visited the Collegio Romano twice within her first month in Rome.[484] An obelisk carved with Egyptian hieroglyphics which was displayed among Kircher's curiosities and instruments may have had an inscription marking such an occasion but has since been lost.[485] Kircher's collection of antiquities was displayed alongside antiquities and medals from the collections of men such as Alfonso Donnini and Cardinal Buonsompagno.[486]

- The Corvini: The collection of the Corvino Corvini was primarily one of natural curiosities and plants and was located in their palace on the Lungara not far from Christina's residence.

- Collection of the Palazzo Farnese: There are separate entries in the *Nota* for the Palazzo, Villa, and Gardens of the Farnese. The family's palace on the Piazza Farnese was rented out but, in the courtyard, the antique statues of the Hercules, the Gladiator, the Flora and others remained and were present while Christina inhabited the residence. Inside the palace, in addition to the frescos, statues of philosophers, an Apollo made of basalt, were still displayed along with a porphyry statue of Roma in the loggia. The Farnese library

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[482] The Cesi marbles were well known throughout Europe and were displayed in their palaces as well as in the Cesi gardens on the Janiculum, the works in which were largely dispersed by the time of the Nota. Rubens visited the collection in the gardens on a trip to Rome with some of his drawings of the antique sculpture collection surviving in the form of prints. The Silenus mentioned in the Nota may be the same as the one known to have been in the Cesi garden at the close of the previous century. For more on the garden collections see: Katherine Bentz, *Cardinal Cesi and His Garden*: *Antiquities, Landscape and Social Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Phd diss., The Pennsylvania State University, 2003).

[483] Pieces from this collection owned by Don Agostino Chigi were described in the late seventeenth century by Filippo Buonarroti in his work on antique medals. Filippo Buonarroti, *Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi* (Rome: nella stamperia di Domenico Antonio Ercole, 1698), 287-88.

[484] These visits are described in: Garstein, *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia*, 763-764.

[485] This was brought to my attention by Professor Brian Curran but I have been unable to confirm the presence of such an inscription's existence.

[486] On the collections of the Roman College see: Alberto Bartola, "Alle Origini del museo del Collegio Romano," *Nuncius*, Volume 19, Issue 1, 2004, pages 297-356 and Stephanie C. Leone, "Prince Giovanni Battista Pamphilj (1648-1709) and the Display of Art in the Palazzo al Collegio Romano, Rome," in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* Vol. 58, ed. Brian A. Curran (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 181-214.

and the collection of medals, cameos, intaglios developed under Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589) in the previous century by scholars Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) and Annibale Caro (1507-1566) were left to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573-1623) and were likely no longer in the palace at the time of Christina's stay. By the 1650s the Palace was owned by Ranuccio II Farnese, the Duke of Parma (1630-1694).[487] The Farnese villa on the Monte Mario, the Villa Madama and the gardens on the Palatine hill likewise had displays of the family's large collection of antiquities, most of which are now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

- Giuseppe Felice: Felice was a prelate and Bishop of Narni. His collection was primarily medals and the *Nota* specifies that he had a noteworthy group of antique intaglios.
- The Gabrielli: The Gabrielli lived in a palace by the Trinità dei Monti in which they displayed an ancient Roman mosaic. The *Nota* mentions "other worthy ornaments" but does not innumerate them. The Gabrielli mosaic is now in Naples.
- Duke Caetani: The palazzo on the Corso had a collection of both statues and paintings with the most notable antiquities being a colossal statue identified as Alexander the Great and a group of busts of ancient emperors and philosophers.
- Giustiniani: The collections that are referenced in the *Nota* are those amassed by the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani. The Palazzo Giustiniani near the Pantheon and as the two gardens owned by the family each have their own entry in the *Nota.* The palace had bas-reliefs, statues, and busts decorating a large courtyard. Like Christina, Giustiniani was known in his lifetime as both a collector of antiquities and a patron of contemporary artists, working to amass a respected collection with the help of Joachim von Sandrart.[488] The family gardens al Popolo had a sizeable collection of antique vases, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and statues. The other gardens in the Laterin had a pair of antique marbles.
- Signori Lancellotti: The antique sculptures mentioned in the *Nota* were those statues and bas-relief displayed in the courtyard and the portico overlooking it in the Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari. The entirety of the courtyard, the stairs and the two loggias in the palace were designed specifically to highlight the display of antique sculpture. There were over 100 pieces of antique marble in the collection, many heavily restored in the seventeenth century.[489]

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[487] The welcome of Christina into the Farnese Palace is a topic which has attracted a good deal of bias and sensationalism. The most thoroughly description of her residency there can be found in: Kuntz, "*Questions of Identity*," 143-179.

[488] On the publication of the antiquities owned by Giustiniani see: Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750* (New York: Penguin, 1980), 38.

[489] The collection in the Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari is largely still in situ and is generally unpublished. A project to restore the sculptures and the palace near Piazza Nivona is being conducted by the Swedish Institute in Rome. Agneta Freccero, "Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari, Rome. A research and conservation project," *Atti VIII Colloquio Internazionale. Proceedings of the 8th international meeting*, Corigliano Calabro 4-8 dicembre 2003, Rome (2004), 134-141.

- Prince Nicolo Ludovisi: The collection owned by Nicolo Ludovisi was primarily objects collected by his cousin Ludovico Ludovisi who died in 1632. The objects were then moved to be displayed at the main Ludovisi palace near the Porta Pinciana. Most of them appear to have been displayed in the garden.[490] The antiquities mentioned in the *Nota* include works such as the Dying Gaul and the Paetus and Arria, now in the *Musei Capitolini.* Many of the family's antiquities came into their possession during the construction of the Villa Ludovisi, the foundations of which were built on the ancient gardens of Sallust. By the mid-1600s, the Ludovisi palace held both the antiquities collection of Cardinal Ludovico and an impressive collection of paintings by Italian masters. The Palazzo Riario Altemps now holds much of the Ludovisi collection.

- Pauolo Maccarani: Very little is known about Maccarani's collection, its provenance, its contents beyond those paintings and sculptures listed in the *Nota,* and its location.[491] The only object of antiquity mentioned specifically in the *Nota* is a metal inscription which is said to have been "among the antiquities" indicating a collection of indeterminate size.

- Carlo Antonio Magnini: His collection was small, only about three rooms, but was unique in its focus on ancient weapons and curiosities. The *Nota* specifies that there were both barbarian and antique Roman weapons in the collection which also included a cabinet of antique cameos and carved gems.[492]

- Duke Mancini: Philippe Jules Mancini, the Duke of Nevers, lived in his uncle Mazzarin's palace on the Quirinal but was in Paris with his family during Christina's stay in the palazzo. The collection, which would have been there during the Queen's brief residency, included a library, Guido Reni's Aurora, and a collection of antique sculptures in the loggia.

- Monsignor Camillo Massimi: The Cardinal Massimo was a close associate of Christina in Rome and was one of the period's most active patrons. His collection of paintings was one of the best in Rome. The Cardinal was knowledgeable about all of the most recent antique finds in the city and was known for his patronage of a volume of images produced after the find of ancient roman paintings in Tomb of the Nasonii on the Via Flaminia. His guidance was instrumental in the development of Christina's collections of books and artworks during the 1660s and early 1670s. His Palazzo alle Quatro Fontane had an atrium full of statues, bas-reliefs and antique heads. Inside the palace, he had a library with cabinets containing a large collection of medals, initagli, and cameos. The description of this collection reads very similarly to that of Christina's including the specification of one particularly nice cameo within the cabinet and a generalized description of a marble collection that we know to have been much larger than the *Nota* lets on. A separate entry appears in the guide for the Massimi Family. This entry is much shorter and describes objects in the family's palace near Campo di Fiore which also had a courtyard decorated with antique statues, busts, and fragments.

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[490] See: Bentz, "The Afterlife of the Cesi Garden," 134-165.

[491] Renata Ago mentions the collection but comes to the same conclusions. Ago, *Gusto for Things*, xix.

[492] Borsoi, *Raccogliere "curiosità" nella Roma barocca*, 19.

- The Mattei: The collections of Girolamo Mattei, Duke of Giove, and the Giardino Mattei alla Navicella receive separate entries in the *Nota* along with an entry for the Giardino Mattei alla Palatino. The Duke's palazzo was decorated with frescoes by some of the period's premier artists. The porticos and stairs in the courtyard were decorated with antique sculptures and reliefs. The Mattei gardens were located at the Villa Mattei, now called the Villa Celimontana and have been the site of multiple archaeological finds. The antiquities collections in the garden were primarily developed in the second half of the *seicento* and included the obelisk that is still found on the site. Many of the sculptures from the collection such as the Pudicity are now in the Vatican but were still found on the Mattei property in the 1600s.[493] The gardens on the Palatine had a smaller collection of marbles but there one could visit the excavated ruins known as the palazzo de'Cesari.

- The Orsini: The *Nota* has several entries for the three Orsini brothers. The first is for Flavio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano. Flavio's collection was located in the Orsini Palace near the Palazzo Pasquino (rebuilt as the *Palazzo* Braschi). The Duke's study contained a quality collection of antique craved gems and cameos. The collection of Cardinal Virgilio Orsini was located in a garden near the Porta del Popolo and featured both natural curiosities and antique sculpture. Lelio Orsini, Prince of Vivovaro's collection was the largest of his family. His apartments featured a painting collection as well as a display of antiquities including a bathing Venus, a mixed marble and porphyry female bust, and a marble lion. These pieces accompanied a collection of paintings, drawings and a library. The brothers Lelio and Flavio had multiple permissions for excavations in Rome through their friend Leonardo Agostini.[494]

- Vatican Library: This is by far the longest entry in the *Nota.* Many ancient texts are listed. The account of the collection ends with a brief sentence on the statues of the Belvedere courtyard which included the Nile, the Tiber, the Laocoon, the Apollo Belvedere, the Belvedere Torso, a Venus, and a Cleopatra. All of these would have been present during Christina's stay in the *Torre di Venti*.

- Papal Palace on Montecavallo: This is a relatively short entry in the *Nota*. Although there were several antique sculptures in the gardens, the only mentioned are the Horse tamers, known at the time as colossal statues of Castor and Pollux.

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[493] Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique,* 300.

[494] On the Orsini collections see: Kristin Tiff, *Patronage and Public Image in Early Modern Rome*: *The Orsini Palace at Monte Giordano* (London: Brepols, 2009); Adriano Amendola, "The Sale of the Collection of Prince Lelio Orsini in Rome (1698-1706)," *Journal of the History of Collections* 25, no. 3 (2013): 351–60. On page 352 Amendola claims that Christina was living at the Palazzo Orsini in Piazza Pasquino prior to her move to the Palazzo Riario but I have found no evidence to support this.

- Marchese Paluzzi: This entry in the *Nota* was most likely the collection belonging to Paluzzo Paluzzi Altieri degli Albertoni, a Cardinal and papal nephew to Clement X. His palazzo in Campitello near the Monasterio di Torre de'Specchi had courtyard arranged with a frieze of bas-reliefs and was decorated with ancient statues.[495]

- Giardino Pamphil: The Pamphilj gardens (now the Villa Doria Pamphilj) were built by the Principe Camillo Pamphilj on the Janiculum near the Porta San Pancrazio. The villa was decorated in a manner similar to the Villa Borghese with bas-reliefs and antique statues on the exterior. The interior was decorated with paintings by celebrated artists as well as stucco work that complemented a collection of antique sculptures.

- The Picchini in Piazza Farnese: This small collection that was located on the Piazza Farnese in what is now known as the Palazzo Fusconi-Pighini, seems to have been comprised largely of high-quality antique sculpture. The *Nota* describes it as the location of a "famous statue of a young Meleager naked with her hand on the skull of the wild boar and with a dog at her feet (and) a statue of Venus along with other antiquities." Gregorio Leti's 1650 guide to Rome attributes it to the same "Pighini" family but mentions only the Meleager statue, calling it instead an Adonis. The entry in Leti's 1664 version of the *Relatione della corte di Roma,* copies Bellori's text on the collection almost exactly, changing both the spelling of the owners and the identification of the statue.[496] The Meleager, now in the collation of the Museo Pio Clementino, along with the other sculptures were originally in the collection of papal physician Francesco Fusconi whose collections remained with his palace after its transfer to the Picchini sometime in the later-half of the *seicento*.[497]

- Commander Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo: Carlo Antonio was the brother of the famous collector, patron, and antiquary of the Barberini, Cassiano dal Pozzo who died in 1657. In the *Nota,* Martinelli calls Carlo Anonio's palace a "vero albergo delle Muse," for its prominent library, Egyptian antiquities, medals, portraits, books of prints and drawings, and paintings that had largely been formed by his brother.

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[495] Gregorio Leti. *Relatione della corte di Roma, e de'riti da osseruarsi in essa, e de' suoi magistrati, & offitij, con la loro distinta giurisdittione. Del sig. cau. Girolamo Lunadoro, à cui in questa nuoua impressione sono state aggiunte Il maestro di camera del sig. Francesco Sestini, e Roma ricercata nel suo sito del sig. Fior. Martinelli* (Padua: per P. Frambotto, 1650), 37.

[496] The duplicate text found in the *Nota* and the *Relatione's* 1664 editions was due to the involvement of Bartolomeo Lupardi in both. Lupardi was particularly fond of Christina and the 1664 edition of the *Relatione* had a dedication to "la Regina." He additionally came out with a description of her entry into Rome and published works staged at the Tordinona, a theater under the protection and patronage of Christina. Leti. *Relatione della corte di Roma,* 25, 44-45. On Lupardi see: Saverio Franchi, "Bartolomeo Lupardi," *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 66 (Rome: Treccani, 2006). A digital copy can be found at: http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bartolomeo-lupardi_(Dizionario-Biografico).

[497] Benvenuto Cellini, *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine Artist Vol 1,* ed. G. P. Carpani (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1845), 187, n. 1-2.

- Felice Rondenini: Much more research is needed on the development of the collections owned by Felice Zacchia, daughter of *Cardinal* Laudivio Zacchia, at the Palazzo Rondenini on the Corso. Felice died in 1667, only a few years after the publication of the *Nota.* She significantly outlived her husband and may have acquired some of her collections through him.[498] The *Nota* describes "a scholarly study of medals and unique medallions, among which is the only ancient medal of the poet Ovid with carved gems, and precious Cameos among the other antiquities." The collection was apparently quite well known in the period and was visited by numismatic scholars including Ezechiel Spanheim who recorded his encounter with Felice.[499] The Rondenini name is synonymous with the collection of antique sculptures, dispersed in the eighteenth century, including the Faun, now in the British Museum, and the Medusa, now in the Glyptothek, Munich but it is not known when these items entered the family collections.

- Duke Sannesio: The collection of medals and antiquities owned by the Duke Francesco Sannesio included a very large cameo with portraits identified at the time as Amon and Isis. The collection of antique objects owned by Sannesio is mentioned by Angeloni in glowing terms in his 1641 text on medals*, La Historia Augusta.* There he mentions that Sannesio gifted him with a medal of Caracalla.[500]

- Marchese Santacroce: In his palace facing S. Carlo ai *Catinari,* the courtyard is described as covered in antique bas-reliefs. This entry, like many of the others, speaks to a desire to display taste, funds, and longevity in the public spaces of the palace with there being little else aside from garden sculpture to indicate a serious scholarly or artistic interest in the antique.

- The Savelli: The Prince Savelli and Cardinal Paolo Savelli each receive an entry in the *Nota.* The family's collection at the palace which was part of the fabric of the ancient Theater of Marcellus contained a courtyard with bas-reliefs and antique statues. Paolo Savelli inherited the well-appointed gardens on the Viminal (now where the main train station in Rome sits) that had belonged to his maternal uncle Cardinal Francesco Peretti. There was a sizeable collection of antique statues at Montalto including a nude Augustus and multiple bas-reliefs.

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[498] Joseph Burney Trapp, *Studies of Petrarch and His Influence* (London: Pindar, 2003), 369-70.

[499] Spanheim waa a friend of Holstenius and tutor to the Elector Palatine's son. He traveled to Rome between 1661 and 1665, publishing his *Disputationes de usu et præstantia numismatum antiquorum* in Rome in 1664. It is in that text that he mentions seeing Felice's image of Ovid. Ezechiel Spanheim, *Disputationes de usu et præstantia numismatum antiquorum* (Rome: 1664).

[500] A better understanding of this collection may be gained from an examination of the inventory taken of the Duke's apartments in Febuary of 1644 which has so far only been discussed with relations to the Duke's collection of paintings. Francesco Angeloni, *La Historia Augusta da Giulio Cesare infino à Costantino il Magno.Illustrata con la verità delle Antiche Medaglie*, Rome, 1641, 246. For a discussion of Angeloni's interactions with Sannesio see: Ann Summerscale, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci: Commentary and Translation* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2000), 361.

- Abbot Nicolò Simonelli: The *Nota* describes the Abbot's studio only briefly as containing paintings and a collection of drawings by the best artists and a museum with curiosities as well as a coin cabinet full of antique gems, coins, and intagli.

- Marchese Tassi: The avid antiquarian collector Ippolito Vitelleschi died in 1654 but his collection of antique sculpture and study of coins, medals, cameos, and intagli remained on the Corso. The collection was noted in nearly all of the guides to antiquities and museums produced in the first half of the seventeenth-century including the *Nota*, Pompilio Totti's 1638 *Ritratto di Roma Moderna,* and publications by Athanasius Kircher.

- The Della Valle: The family's collection was large but most notable for the collection of curiosities and marbles brought back with Pietro della Valle from his travels. Their palace on the Via Della Valle remained home to the collections which included an Egyptian Mummy, after Pietro's death in 1652. The architectural program of the palace was enhanced with antique marbles including sculptures and busts. Similarly, in his garden outside the Porta del Popolo, Carlo Valle owned a *casino* which was described as adorned with a large number of ancient inscriptions.

- Signori Verospi: Like the Palaces of the Savelli at the Teatro Marcello, the Santacroce, the Paluzzi, the Giustiniani and the Lancellotti, the Verospi's palace on the Corso contained antique sculptures used as architectural or aesthetic decoration in the courtyard. Their collection was additionally described as containing "unique statues and antique busts in the apartments and rooms," a feature not typical of most collections surveyed where such objects were typically kept in outdoor public spaces, integrated into the building, or displayed in a cabinet, studio or library.

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Vita

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Education

PhD in Italian Renaissance and Baroque Art History: The Pennsylvania State University. Seccondary certification: Northern Renaissance Art. Committe: Robin Thomas, Andrew Schulz, Elizabeth Smith, Sherry Roush.
Master of Arts in Italian Renaissance Art History: Penn State University, May, 2010
Bachelor of Arts in Art History: University of Puget Sound, May, 2006
Art Conservation Training: Ancient pottery restoration. SACI, Island of Elba, Italy, 2004.

Professional Appointments

Instructor, Penn State Art History: Art H 100 Ancient to Modern Survey, 2018
Graduate Assistant, Penn State Art History: Research Communications, Office of the Dean of Research: 2014-2015; Research Assistant to Brian Curran, 2012-2014; Visual Resource Center, 2012-2013; Teaching Assistant, 2011-2014: ArtH 202, ArtH 201, ArtH 100, ArtH 112 Online. Section Instructor: ArtH 111, ArtH 112
Palmer Museum of Art: Curatorial Assistant: 2008-2011
Curatorial Research, Object and Database Management as Independent Contractor with Smithsonian Institution Freer and Sackler Galleries, American Art Museum, Archives of American Art: 2006-2009

Publications and Curated Exhibitions:

"A Hellenistic Skyscraper: The Reconceptualization of the Lost Pharos at Alexandria and its Relationship to American Architecture at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Art and Its Responses to Changes in Society,* ed. Ines Unetič. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
"Stockholm Stacks," *Penn State News,* Jan. 19, 2016. http://www.psu.edu/feature/2016/01/07/stockholm-stacks.
Curator. "Arts & Architecture Showcase from the 2015 Graduate Exhibition." Borland Project Space, 2015.
Curator. "Recent Acquisitions: Toskiko Takaezzu/Robert Chapman Turner." Smithsonian Archives of Am. Art, 2008.

Select Scholarships, Fellowships, Grants, and Awards

CEMS Paper Award, 2017; Global Programs Travel Grants, 2017,2014; Dept. of Art History Dissertation Fellowship, 2017; Departmental Grad Student Grants, 2017, 2015, 2014, 2013; IAH Residency 2016; Roth-Thomson Award, 2016; Fulbright Award to Sweden: 2015-2016; Schwartz Endowed Fellowship for Dissertation Research: 2015-2016; Creative Achievement Award, 2015; Francis E. Hyslop Memorial Fellowships, 2014, 2012; Palatium Network Summer School, 2013; Fund for Excellence in Graduate Recruitment Penn State, 2008; FraadHorowitz Fellowship, Smithsonian Archives of American Art, 2006; Katzenberger Internship, Smithsonian Freer/Sackler Galleries, 2006; Dean's Scholarship University of Puget Sound, 2002-2006.

Select Conference Papers and Invited Lectures

"Christina, Barbarian Cultural Ambassador," College Art Association. NY, NY, Feb. 2019.
"Crossing as the Earl of Donau," Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study. UCLA, May 2, 2018.
"Christina Gothic Apollo," Renaissance Society of America Annual Conference. New Orleans, LA. March 22, 2018.
"Christina and Material Memory," Fulbright Nobel Prize Day, Gustav III's Museum, Stockholm, Dec 10, 2017.
"King Christina and the Vasa's Women," Vasa Museum, Stockholm. Dec. 9, 2017.
"Christina of Sweden," Christina Academy. Royal Armory, Stockholm. Dec. 8, 2017.
"Muses Marbles and Making a Museum," UPS Art History Alumni Colloquium. Tacoma, WA. Jan. 25-26, 2017.
"Alexandra the Great," presented at the Institute for the Arts and Humanities, Penn State. Nov. 29, 2016.
"A Hellenistic Skyscraper," Conference: Decline, Metamorphosis, Rebirth. Ljubljana, Slovenia. Sept. 18-20, 2014.
"Minerva of the North and the Termegant of Spain," Casa Velazquez, Madrid. Aug. 2013.

Languages

Spanish, Italian, German, Swedish, French, Latin